

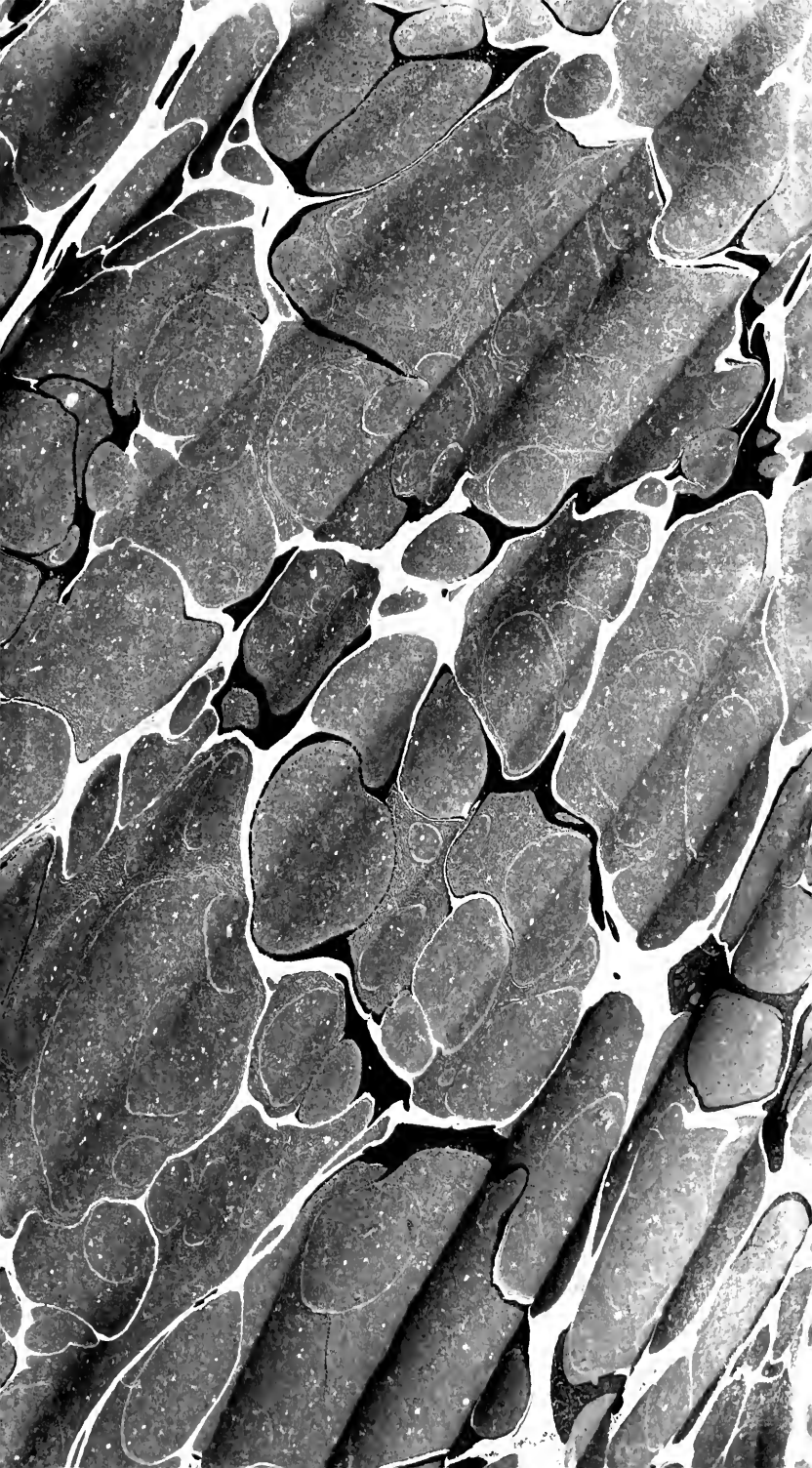
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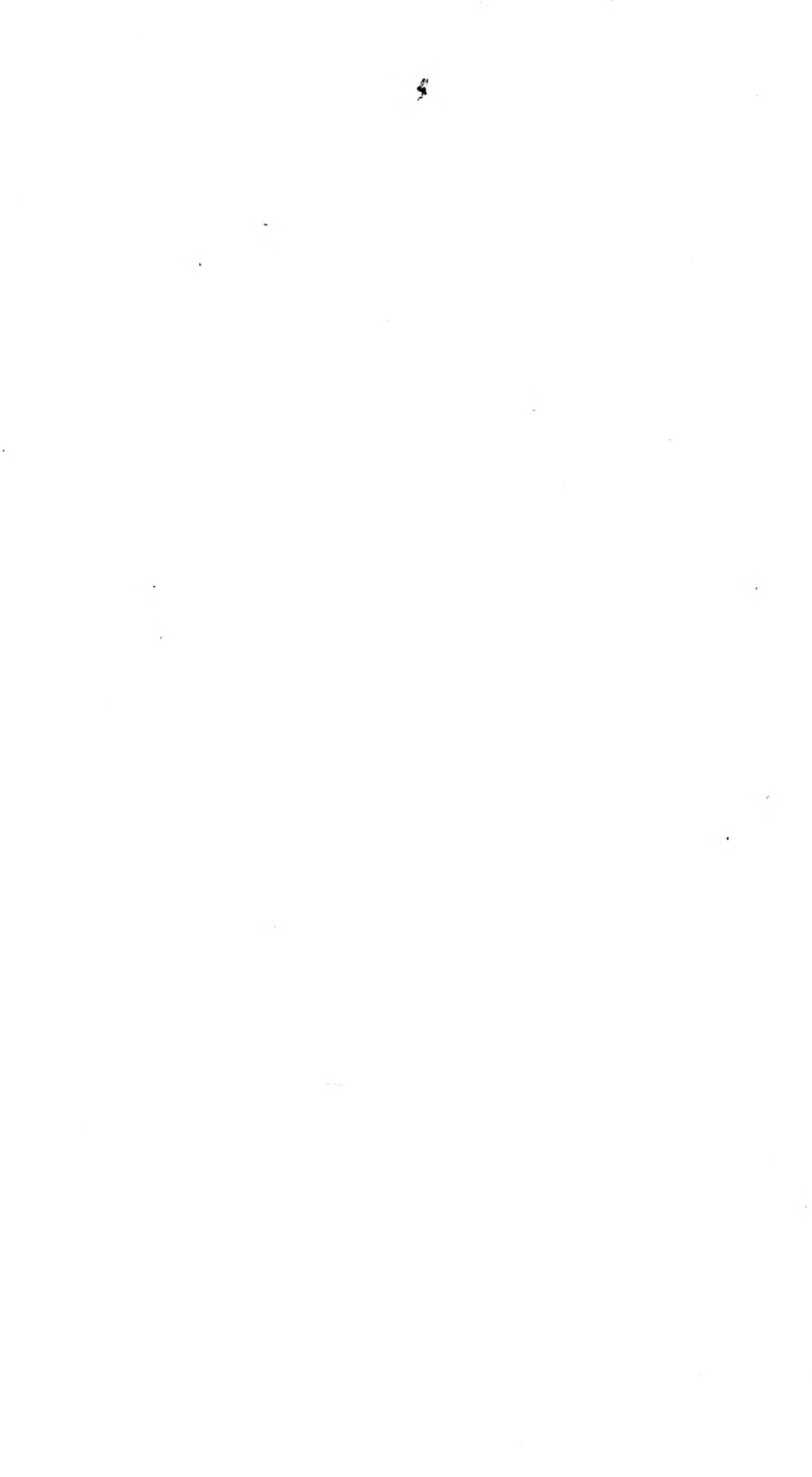
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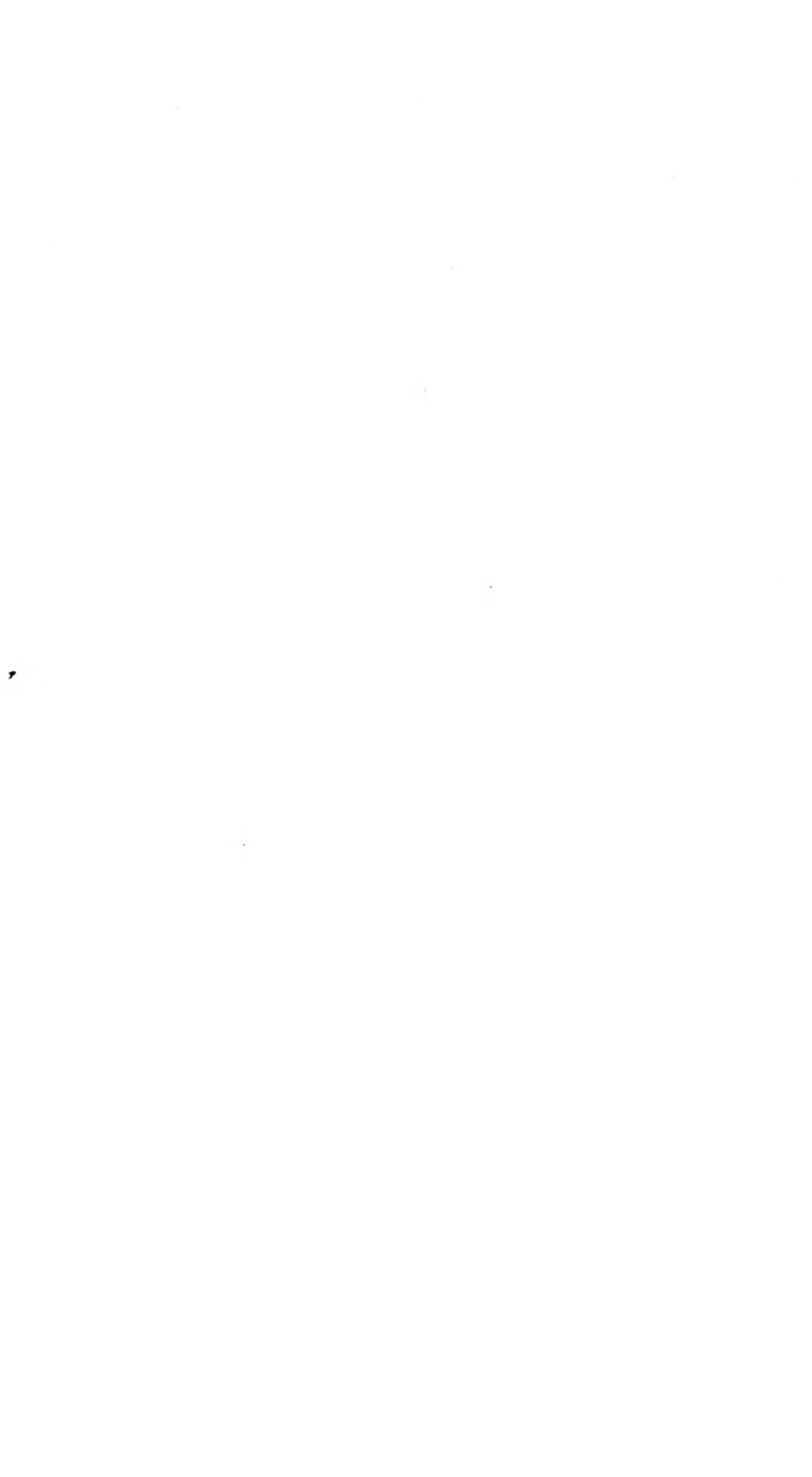
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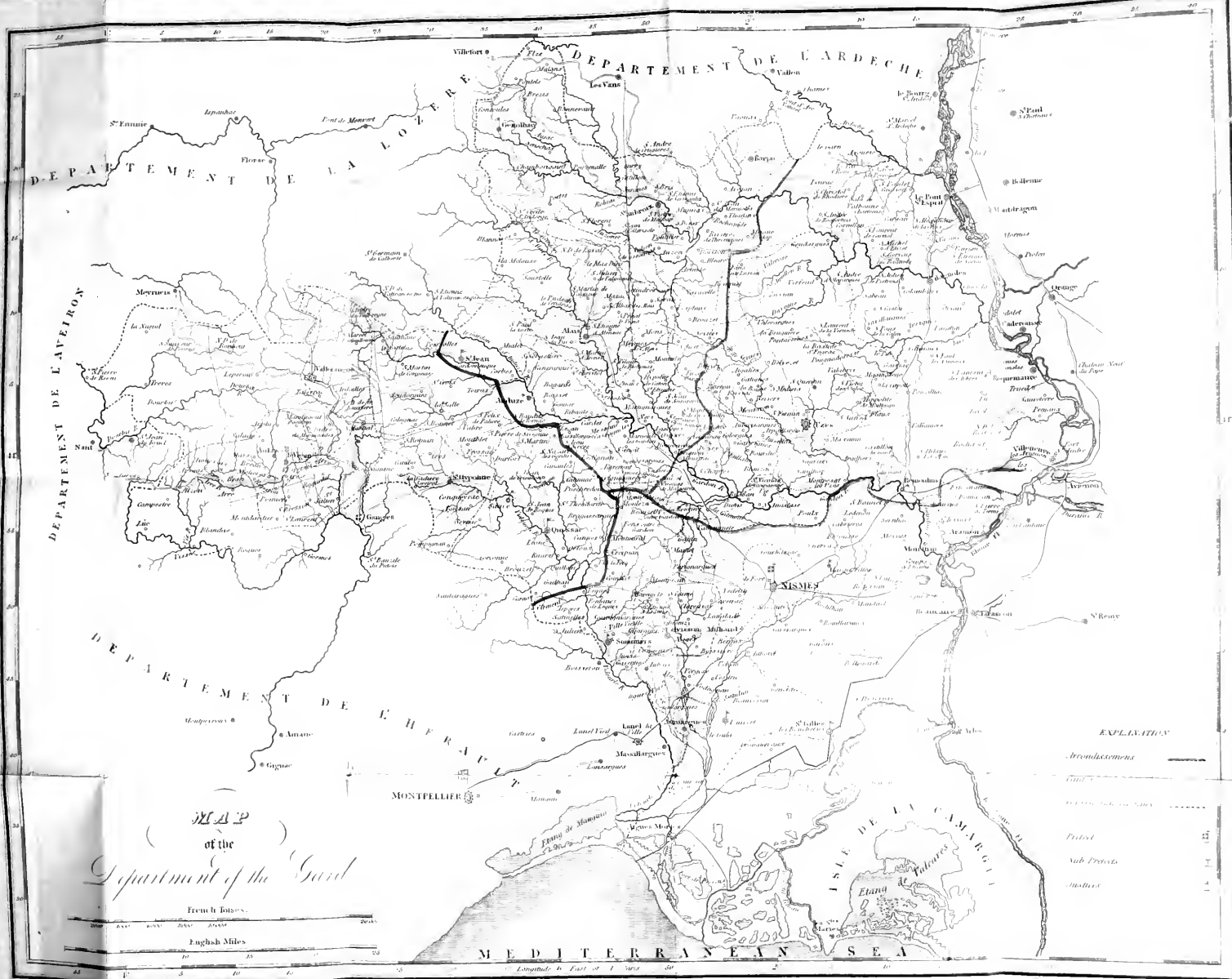












HISTORY  
OF THE  
PERSECUTIONS  
ENDURED BY  
THE PROTESTANTS  
OF THE  
SOUTH OF FRANCE,  
AND MORE ESPECIALLY OF  
*THE DEPARTMENT OF THE GARD,*  
DURING THE YEARS  
1814, 1815, 1816, &c.  
INCLUDING A  
DEFENCE OF THEIR CONDUCT,  
FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

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BY MARK WILKS.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

*LONDON:*

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, & BROWN,  
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1821.

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## PREFACE.

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THE work now presented to the public was originally announced by the Committee appointed by the General Body of Ministers of the Three Denominations, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, &c.

In their last circular, the Committee thus expressed their reasons for relinquishing the intended publication: "The historical relation of these deplorable events, which the Committee had announced and prepared, they have determined not to publish; because, though substantially correct as far as it embraced the subject, and as far as facts could be collected under the reign of terror, there was an inevitable incorrectness in some of the minor details; and because from the mass of documents since obtained, it is evident that the work would have been exceedingly incomplete. While they have therefore thought it their duty to withhold an imperfect narration, they hope and expect that a full and authentic statement

will be presented to the public by a member of their body.”

On a subject which had excited so much discussion, it appeared important that the truth should be ascertained and established. The fact of the persecution was also connected with those events which have changed the religious state of Europe, and with the ascendancy of a party from whose principles and policy Europe may yet apprehend fresh agitation. Further, it formed a striking feature in the history of Protestantism, as well as of that of the reformed churches of France.

After the decision of the Committee, the Author, who had been requested to arrange for the press the papers in their possession, found himself charged, not only with those materials, but with a vast quantity of additional evidence, furnished by persons of the first respectability, and obtained on a visit to the South of France; and at the desire of many of his brethren, he undertook to prepare a history of the sufferings, and a defence of the conduct of the persecuted and calumniated Protestants.

Delay has been unavoidable. An earlier publication would have deprived the work of essential testimony; and even now it ap-



pears too near the period of the events it records to have all the advantages of an entire disclosure.

It is no longer possible to deny the reality of the sufferings of the Protestants. The declarations of the French government, and of some members of the British ministry, as well as the trials of several of the principal agents of the persecuting faction, have rendered doubt both criminal and absurd. After the perusal of these volumes, the public will be satisfied that those sufferings exceeded both in degree and duration the most afflictive statements that have hitherto transpired.

To those persons who have admitted that great calamities have been endured by the Protestants, but have denied to their sufferings the character of religious persecution, it may not be improper to observe: that the principles of the Reformation, must ever expose their professors to the hatred of those who advocate, either from interest or inclination, the cause of mental slavery. It is certain that it was rather the spirit than the doctrine of the Reformers that was persecuted by the princes, and priests, and courts of Europe. It was not for the holiness of their lives,

nor the fervor of their devotions, that the Lutherans fell by the sword of Charles V., the Calvinists by the daggers of Charles IX., and the Nonconformists by the "Acts" of Charles II. It was not the serious piety of the Huguenots that the "League" endeavoured to extinguish, or that the revocation of the edict of Nantes was designed to exterminate. In fact, there was never less appearance of religious faith or feeling among the Protestants than when the fêtes of Paris prepared the massacre of the St. Bartholomew. Multitudes were butchered by the Guises, and dragooned by Louis XIV., who would not have been considered pious, by those who now refuse to their descendants the honour of religious persecution.

Politics have almost always borne some share in the causes of religious struggles. Daniel was not really persecuted for his faith: his faith was the secret cause of his advancement; but it was because he governed, not because he prayed, that he was attacked; and his enemies found occasion against him in his religion, because every other pretext failed. The author has endeavoured, however, to abstain from all political controversy, and even as much as

possible from political allusions. He has equally endeavoured to avoid giving offence to those whose sentiments may not be in harmony with his own. It is still possible that something stronger than censure may be the reward of trouble and labour not easily to be appreciated; but he is accustomed rather to take counsel of his conscience than his convenience, and he is prepared for the result.

*London, April, 1821.*



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# PERSECUTION

## OF THE

# FRENCH PROTESTANTS.

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### CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION. — SITUATION OF THE PROTESTANTS FROM THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES TILL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION. — LISTS OF VICTIMS. — FEMALES CONFINED IN THE TOUR DE CONSTANCE. — MARTYRDOM OF M. DESUEAS. — THE CAVERN OF PLAN DU BAY. — THE HONNÊTE CRIMINEL. — THE DESERT. — MOTION OF M. BRETIGNIÈRE IN THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS. — REIGN OF LOUIS XVI. — EFFORTS IN FAVOUR OF THE PROTESTANTS. — M. LA FAYETTE. — EDICT OF 1787.

A KNOWLEDGE of the past history of the department of the Gard is absolutely necessary to a just apprehension of recent events. These events are not to be ascribed to isolated enemies, nor to the force of accidental circumstances; they were the result of a formal plan to dishonour and oppress the Protestants, to destroy the charter, and to restore that system of intrigue, despotism, and inequality, which prevailed in church and state before the revolution. It is necessary to understand that they have been produced by a continuation and a revival of ancient causes, by

some of the same agents, for the same objects, and by the employment of the same means.

It is the more necessary, because the enemies and persecutors of the protestants have eagerly travelled back a quarter of a century, and have brought forward the first years, and scenes, of the revolution, to excite old prejudices, malignant passions, expiring fanaticism, and to confound the words protestant and revolutionary in their most offensive acceptation. Of so much importance is a distinct and fair examination of their conduct prior to the restoration, as affecting the reputation of protestantism as well as the character of those who embrace it in France, that some pages must be devoted to a refutation of the charges which ascribe to the protestants of the south :

1. The excitement of the revolution.

2. The assault and massacre of the catholics in the year 1790.

And, 3. The abuse of political power, and the oppression of the catholics, from that period, till the murders and proscriptions of 1815.

Before entering on this investigation, I shall recal, in as few words as possible, the situation of the descendants of the Huguenots before and at the period of the revolution.

The edict of Nantes, declared to be perpetual by three successive monarchs, and shamelessly violated during the greater part of the reign of the last of them, Louis XIV., was finally revoked in 1685; and the protestants were left, as heretics,

to 'uncovenanted mercies,' and to the covenanted vengeance of sanguinary laws and cruel persecutors.

The progress of knowledge, and the spirit of the age, softened, in some degree, the rigors to which the government consigned them; but in the middle of the eighteenth century, when Whitfield and Wesley were preaching to large multitudes in the public places of England, and laying the foundations of that system of propagation, which now embraces the whole empire, hundreds of their fellow protestants in France, were condemned by parliaments and intendants, to galleys and prisons, to tortures and scourgings, and to the loss of property and life; and at a much later period, several of their ministers were executed with public infamy.

Resolved 'not to forsake the assembling of themselves together,' they met in parties of ten, fifteen, or twenty, with the utmost secrecy, in the dens and caves of the earth, and under cover of the night. But the bloodhounds scented, tracked, and seized them; and as no privacy could promise security, they determined to meet beyond the walls of their towns and celebrate, in public, the worship of their God. In spite of all the sufferings that awaited them, they assembled in immense numbers, and with the greatest order. The acts of the synods of Dauphiny and Languedoc on this subject, should be held in everlasting remembrance.

Before me are lists as honorable to the

devoted protestants, as they are disgraceful to their catholic governors. In one, I find the names of fifty-four persons, condemned to prison in 1746; besides those of eleven young females, who were taken from their parents, and forced into different convents; and those of mothers, (one aged 72) who were imprisoned, for not giving up their sons to vengeance, and their daughters to the cloister. In another list, I reckon eighteen who were sentenced to the galleys for their religion, in the year 1745: among whom were a physician and two old officers, knights of St. Louis — and in the same year, twenty-one meetings of protestants for public worship, (nine of them in the arrondissement of Nismes) condemned to fines and costs, to the amount of 41,000 livres.

It is impossible to read without horror the names of twenty-four innocent females, who, seized in their youth, had passed, some of them, twenty years between the walls of the Tour de Constance. What must have been the sensations of those who witnessed the actual sufferings of these helpless victims? “I accompanied M. de Beauvais (said M. de Boufflers) in a *reconnoissance* on the shores of Languedoc—we arrived at Aiguesmortes, at the foot of the Tour de Constance — we found at the entrance an officious jailor who, after having conducted us by some back and winding staircases, opened with a tremendous noise a frightful door, on which we might have expected

to see the inscription of Dante. No language can describe the effect of a spectacle to which our eyes were unaccustomed; it was at once hideous and affecting, and disgust increased its horror. We saw a large round hall, deprived of air and light; fourteen women languished there in misery and in tears. The commandant could scarcely contain his emotion, and doubtless, for the first time, these unhappy beings perceived compassion on a human countenance. I see them still. At this sudden appearance, they fell at our feet, bathed them with tears, attempted to speak but found only sighs, and at length, emboldened by consolations, related to us all at once their common sufferings. Alas! it was all their crime that they were educated in the religion of Henry IV. The youngest of these martyrs was nearly fifty years of age — she was only eight when they seized her, as she was going to the sermon with her mother, and her punishment had not yet terminated.

“ I have also seen this Tour de Constance (says M. Boissy d’Anglas, addressing his children\*); it must excite in you a double interest, since the ancestor of your mother, accused of having attended preaching, and being confined there during her pregnancy, gave birth to a daughter, from whom you are descended. I declare, that nothing I have ever seen, was so

\* I congratulate the children of the friend and biographer of Malesherbes, that they live to see their father, Vice-President of the Bible Society established in Paris.

calculated to insure ineffable remembrance. It was towards the year 1763; five or six years before the circumstance related by M. de Boufflers, and so honorable to M. de Beauvais. My mother had brought me to visit one of our relations, who resided a league from Aigues-mortes — she wished to see the unhappy victims of the religion we professed, and she took me with her. There were more than twenty-five prisoners; and the description of their misery, by M. de Boufflers is but too exact; only instead of a simple gaoler, they were under the care of a royal lieutenant, who alone could open the Tour and give permission to enter. The prison was composed of two large round halls, one above another; the lower room received light from the upper, by a circular hole about six feet in diameter, and the upper from a similar hole, made in the terrace which formed the roof. The fire was lighted in the centre; the smoke could only escape through openings, by which air and light, and unhappily with them rain and wind, were admitted. I saw the prisoner who had been shut up since she was eight years old. Thirty-two years she had been there when I saw her, and she had been there thirty-eight when she was liberated. Her mother died in her arms some time after their captivity — her name was Mademoiselle Durand.”

I dare not attempt to sketch merely an outline of the bitter sufferings, cruel tortures, and glorious deaths, which compose the annals of this

period. A few facts, illustrative of the various modes of persecution I cannot omit.

M. Desubas, an excellent and zealous minister, twenty-six years of age, was arrested December 11th 1745, at d'Aggrene, and the next day a lieutenant and thirty men conducted him to Vernoux. Some protestant peasants, informed of the seizure of their minister, assembled on the route, without arms, to implore his liberation; the only answer was, a discharge of musketry. Six were killed and four were made prisoners.

Arrived at Vernoux, the tidings spread, and the poor people, alarmed for the life of their pastor, collected in crowds. Old men, women, and children, united in tears and intreaties for their beloved M. Desubas. Two of the catholic *bourgeois* gave them some hope of success, but it was only the more effectually to prepare their destruction. The escort and the catholics fired from the windows on a defenceless multitude, amounting to 2000 persons. Two hundred protestants were wounded, the greater part of them mortally, and thirty-six were killed.

This wanton slaughter served rather to irritate than to intimidate the peasantry. The escort being small, and the population protestant, it appeared possible to rescue the minister and the other prisoners. They assembled from all parts; the roads were covered, and their vengeance would have been terrible. The ministers, who were informed, threw themselves into the midst of the people, moderated

their rage, and prevented violence. At length the prisoners arrived at Montpellier, where the states were sitting. M. Desubas was visited in confinement by several prelates, and especially by the bishop of the city, who spared no efforts to induce him to change his religion. The elegance of his figure, the beauty of his person, the politeness of his manners, and the mildness of his address, won the esteem of the bishop ; but his unshaken firmness destroyed all hope of conversion. In January 1746 he was examined, and the seriousness of his deportment exhibited the principles of a good man, who knew and loved his religion, and produced in the minds of his judges, involuntary sympathy and respect.

The intendant conjured him, in the name of that God before whom he was about to appear, to answer correctly. Having given the promise, he was asked “if the protestants had not a common fund, a collection of arms, and a regular correspondence with England.” Nothing of all this is true, said M. Desubas ; the ministers preach only patience, and fidelity to the king. “ I am satisfied,” said the intendant.

When sentence of death was pronounced on the martyr, he alone appeared unmoved. He was executed on the 1st of February on the Esplanade, before an immense concourse of people. He came from the prison with his feet bare, and only clothed in a pair of drawers and a flannel waistcoat without sleeves. According



to the established custom, two drums beat incessantly \* ; but though no words could be heard, the tranquillity which sat upon his brow, and the radiance which beamed from his countenance, commanded the admiration of the spectators ; and the feeling was increased when they saw him kneel at the foot of the ladder, and observed the devotion with which he prayed. He was detained on the second step, to witness the conflagration of his books and papers ; he threw from him the crucifix which the jesuits wished him to kiss, and entreated them to let him die in peace ; and then ascending the ladder, he displayed to the last moment such constancy and piety, that many, both protestants and catholics, melted into tears.

In the Plan du Bay, an estate belonging to M. de Montroud, was a natural cavern, formed in a rock. The protestant peasants, finding there shelter from the rain and the cold, swept it out and rendered it comfortable, and on one occasion they passed their time in reading to each other the sacred scriptures. This circumstance came to the knowledge of the parliament of Grenoble, and that grave assembly, by a pompous decree, converted this simple cavern into a temple of worship, and, because it could not be destroyed in any other way, ordered it to be filled and walled up. M. Montroud had neither attended any assembly, nor opposed any

\* It appears that it was a *good old catholic usage*, which the infidel Santerre observed at the execution of Louis XVI. !

law ; but he was involved in the pretended crime of his peasants, cited before the parliament, and ordered to prison without being informed of his offence. His friends solicited a trial, and he assured the parliament, that as the meeting in the cave had been held without either his knowledge or connivance, he could neither have prevented it, nor have informed the government. Notwithstanding the strength of this defence, and the absence of any charge against him, he was condemned to a fine of a thousand crowns — made responsible for those levied on his tenants — and obliged to forfeit to the crown his seignorial revenues and rights. He paid the thousand crowns with the hope of retaining his liberty ; but a *lettre de cachet* was issued, and the Maréchaussée, without further formality, conducted him to the prison of Crêt, from whence, it is not known that he was ever released.

M. le Maréchal de Mirepoix arrived in Languedoc for the first time, as commandant of the province in 1755. He was soon advised by the priests of Nismes, to arrest some of the richest protestants of the country, who frequented the religious assemblies, and to make the expulsion of the pastors the price of their liberty ; “ this is the only method (said they) to make the protestants send away their ministers themselves.” The advice was accepted ; many respectable protestants were seized, and among others M. Fabre, a merchant of Nismes, an old gentleman eighty years of age. He was arrested by the

military at the desert, about half a league from Nismes. To compel him to walk faster, they beat him unmercifully, till he sunk beneath their blows.

His son, twenty-eight years old, presented himself to the soldiers ; “ Gentlemen, (said he) my father, enfeebled by age, will die under your strokes ; he is not able to walk ; set him at liberty, and I surrender myself prisoner in his stead.” They acceded, dismissed the father, and carried away the son.

At Montpellier he was taken before the council ; M. le Maréchal de Mirepoix and M. de St. Priest, intendant, presided, and, shame on human nature, this devoted son was condemned to the galleys, and remained in chains till 1766 ; when M. le Duc de Choiseul, being informed of the circumstance, obtained his liberation. The fact was so striking, that M. de Falbaire composed from it a play, called the *Honnête Criminel*. The father was represented under the name of Lisimon, and the son under that of André. The play was first acted at the house of the Duchess d’Aiguillon ; she made all the spectators subscribe towards a purse for Fabre, who had been ruined by his persecutors ; and the affair attracted so much attention, that the piece was afterward performed in the theatre of M. le Duc d’Orleans at Villers Cotteret, and in 1778 at Versailles.

When they thus ventured to worship publicly in the neighbourhood of Nismes, they usually

frequented two spots, about half a league distant. In the winter they assembled on the bed of a mountain torrent; on the declivity of the hill, the stones formed seats, open to the sun and sheltered from the winds. The pulpit was at the bottom, and the pastor could be heard by all the people collected on the vast amphitheatre. Five, six, and on the festivals, ten and fourteen thousands, attended. In the summer the place of meeting was an ancient quarry, called the Echo. A delightful shade and a refreshing coolness enabled the faithful multitude to attend with pleasure in that hot climate, to the preacher's discourse. The entrance is by a narrow pass, and here was placed the pulpit. The excavation widening on either side, formed an area, where thousands of attentive hearers were arranged, whose parasols, of various colours, formed a vault, not much in harmony with the wildness and majesty of their temple.

In company with the relatives and descendants of the martyrs, I visited the desert where these meetings were held, and from whence persons of all ages and sexes were dragged to prison and to death. A lady related to the injured Fabre, who has often worshipped in these hallowed scenes, was of our party. She has since lost her husband on the revolutionary scaffold, for opposing the death of Louis XVI.; religious and political persecution have filled her soul with bitter recollections, and she has need of all the energy

of the religion she enjoys, to maintain the benevolence and amiableness which dignify and adorn the mild evening of her useful life. A friend also accompanied us, who used to follow his father to these rocks : young and buoyant, it was his delight to climb their craggy sides, and from some commanding point, mark the profound attention with which the multitude hung on their pastor's lips, or watch for the approach of some hostile intruder. How much more sacred this *desert* than the splendid cathedrals, silver roofs \*, painted windows, marble statues, and legendary pictures of a corrupt, superstitious, and persecuting church !

Nature seems to pay her homage to those principles which consecrated this spot to his worship, who " dwelleth not in temples made with hands," and to embalm with her sweetest odours the memory of the devoted worshippers. Lavender, mountain savory, southern wood, pellitory, balm, sweet-scented agrimony, and a great variety of aromatic and botanical plants, grow luxuriantly over the surface of the grey, and now untrodden stones ; and from the fissures of the rocks, the fig tree throws its umbrageous branches, and offers its delicious fruit. Screened by its broad leaf, and regaled by the fragrance of herbs and wild flowers, we sat and indulged in many interesting details which my memory will ever retain.

\* It is said the abbey of St. Denis was partly covered with silver, and that Clovis II. ordered it to be stripped of its covering, and the produce to be given to the poor.

“ My father,” said M. —, “ attended all the assemblies of which he had notice, in different parts of the country, and frequently when he left home on his horse, returned on foot, because he had accommodated some feeble or aged protestant, or some party who had walked a much greater distance than himself. On one occasion we expressed some apprehension lest he should lose his horse, and our surprise that he should so frequently trust it in the hands of persons, strangers, or living at a distance. “ Children,” said he, “ do not make me blush for you ; I should blush for myself, if I could harbour such suspicions ; no, those who dare to suffer thus for God and his religion, will not steal a horse.”

In Languedoc, the dispositions of several of the authorities, favoured publicity earlier, than in many other provinces. The protestants of Dauphiny, on the contrary, saw the parliament of Grenoble condemn to death, in 1767, their pastor M. Berenger, for having preached *au desert*. In the principalities of Sedan and Rancourt, they could not worship, even secretly, before 1778. At that period their assemblies were denounced ; and it was not till 1780 that they ventured to organize a church. In Normandy they were treated still more rigorously ; the religious society of Dieppe was struck by lettres de cachet in 1780 ; the houses of prayer were shut at Lunneray, and in the neighbouring communes ; and even in 1788,

M. Mordant was arrested for giving religious benediction, at Rouen, to a mixed marriage.

In 1778, the miserable condition of the Protestants was discussed in the French parliament. On the 15th of December, M. Bretignière moved for some alteration of the laws. "Since 1740 (said he), 400,000 marriages have been solemnized in the desert, and their offspring are illegitimate. It is not designed to favour the exercise of the pretended reformed religion, nor to admit to public offices those who profess it; but merely to obtain for them, what is granted to the Jews throughout the kingdom — what Protestant Princes never refused to Catholics — nor even the Emperors themselves, to the Christians whom they persecuted." — The parliament refused, however, to entertain the subject, and, like many former applications, from the most respectable individuals and bodies, this appeal left the sword still hanging by a thread over the heads of multitudes, whose only crime was their religion.

At length the splendid talents and the generous labours of Turgot — Malesherbes — Rulhières — Bretueil, and La Fayette, were employed to obtain for the Protestants a civil existence; and it is remarkable, that these champions of religious toleration were the most enlightened friends and the most zealous servants of Louis XVI.— Turgot had struggled for the suppression of the oath "to exterminate heretics," used in the ceremonial of the coronation. Louis took the oath, but preferred the spirit of Turgot's resist-

ance to the letter of his own obligation, and the heretics were not destroyed. Breteuil thought it would honour both his ministry, and the reign of the young monarch, to legalize their existence ; and he employed Rulhières to maintain (so-phistically as I think), that Louis XIV. and Louis XV. did not intend to produce the effects which resulted from their decrees. The pen of the virtuous Malesherbes, who defended Louis Capet before the awful convention, described the wrongs and advocated the rights of the devoted Huguenots. La Fayette, who afterwards hazarded his life and lost his liberty for the preservation of his fallen sovereign, gave to their cause all the weight of his abilities, and all the ardour of his character. Such a constellation could not fail to produce a more bright and genial atmosphere ; but it was to the Marquis de la Fayette that the Protestants were especially indebted, for the first act of liberal legislation which rescued them from civil death.

Inspired by a love of freedom, which consisted with the purest patriotism, he had already contended for the independence of the United States, and established in America the reputation of France. Fêtes, addresses, and all the genuine demonstrations of national homage and gratitude, graced his return to his native country, where he was beloved by the people and distinguished by the court. But, instead of indulging in the enjoyment of a well-merited popularity, he immediately devoted his talents and his influence



to promote, in Europe, that sacred cause, for which he had fought and conquered on transatlantic shores; and scarcely was peace restored, when he began to combat the slave trade, to ameliorate criminal jurisprudence, and to demand religious liberty.

In the spring of 1784, he set off on a delicate mission to the south of France; under pretence of promoting Gallo-American commerce, he sent his friend Gouvion, to La Rochelle, Albi, and Montauban, and went himself, to Cavignac, the Cevennes, and Nismes.

It was there that he conferred with the patriarchal Paul Rabaut and received his blessing; and having arranged the future plans to be pursued by his son Rabaut St. Etienne, he returned to animate his friends at Versailles, and in the parliament of Paris. On his arrival, in the end of 1784, after a voyage to America, which occupied seven months, the movement of the protestants had alarmed their enemies, and it was necessary to restrain the activity of the one, and to allay the jealousy of the other.\*

\* Extract of a letter from M. La Fayette to M. Rabaut St. Etienne.

“ Paris, Jan. 4, 1785.

“ I am not flatterer enough to encourage great confidence; but, at the same time I inform you that I believe the present reign cannot fail to be favourable to you, such are the paternal views of the King and the dispositions of his ministers. I do not think, however, that they will go far, and I advise you, at all events, to display tranquillity and satisfaction, as the best means of attaining your end. You express a wish to come to Paris; I am delighted with the hope

M. La Fayette has told me, affairs were so little advanced at this time, that another step was thought gained, when he ventured to address a letter to M. Fossart, as “minister of the gospel, Lyons.”

Towards the end of 1785, M. La Fayette, in reply to a letter from Rabaut St. Etienne,† encouraged him to visit Paris; and when he arrived he took him to the country-house of Malesherbes, introduced him to the persons likely to be useful to his cause, advised him of the measures in contemplation, and of the memorials to be pre-

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of cultivating your acquaintance; and I have repeated this in each of my answers, though my last implied the propriety of delay. I had not then the idea of a deputation, or I should have represented to you, that this would excite your enemies, without stimulating your friends — that it would embarrass the ministers — and that the clergy would resist measures so public, though the more pious bishops are convinced, that the catholic religion even is interested in relieving you, not only because persecution does not proselyte, but especially, that itself may be tolerated in other countries. I am against a deputation for the present. I give you this opinion, lest we should misunderstand each other; without that fear I should give it, from the interest I feel in your cause; and, should this opinion change, I will offer another, without fear of compromising myself.”

† The following is the conclusion of the letter, dated October 7th, 1785 :

“ I preserve most sacredly the letter with which you favoured me from Sarquemines. I trace with delight characters written by a hand whose first effort was to found empires in the new world, and which will now be employed to support the finest empire of the old.”

pared. It was indeed a political phenomenon ; a deputy from those heretics, whom Louis XVI. had sworn to exterminate, visited in his humble apartment, Hôtel de Nismes, rue Grenelle St. Honoré, by the most illustrious men, and invited as a Huguenot minister, proscribed by the laws, to a public dinner given by the minister of the interior, on the day of the procession of the Cordons Bleus.

In the mean time the assembly of the clergy, led on by the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Abbé L'Enfant, made exertions proportionate to the danger, loudly and warmly opposed the slightest amelioration, and demanded the total extirpation of heresy : the friends of religious liberty in their turn redoubled their efforts ; nor were those efforts vain. The meeting of the notables, in 1787, was eventful \*. M. de la Fayette proposed an address to the king in favour of the protestants ; fortunately it was supported by the Bishop of Langres, the nephew of Malesherbes, and from

\* It was at this meeting that the convocation of a *national assembly* was first suggested by M. La Fayette. From the effect of these two words, uttered for the first time, and as if from the clouds, it would not have been imagined that, in about two years, they would have been repeated by every mouth in France and in Europe. “ What, Sir,” cried the Comte d'Artois, who was president of the bureau, “ do you demand the States General ? ” “ Yes, Sir, and even more than that.” “ Do you wish, then, that I should report to the King, M. de la Fayette made a motion for the convocation of the States General ? ” — “ Yes, Sir.” The silence was general, and the idea that had been thrown out, appeared at that period only an intemperate sally.

that circumstance was unanimously adopted : “ I am determined, said he, by several motives different from those of the Marquis ; I disapprove the scandal and the sacrilege of the present system, and I prefer temples to secret meetings, and ministers to preachers.” Finally, the edict of his Majesty was registered by the parliament in November, in spite of the intrigues and tears of the fanatics, and the declamation of Despremenil, who apostrophised, rather in anger than with piety, the crucifix which adorned the chamber of their sitting. Alas ! how often and how wickedly is the cross invoked by looks and actions, which crucify the son of God afresh, and put him to open shame. Happily, the gospel is redeemed from disgrace, by the involuntary and consistent homage of men, whose mercy and equity triumph over the cruel injustice of the pretended friends and the professional representatives of christianity. In the cause of truth and liberty, no effort will be lost ; let its champions wear this motto embossed on their bucklers and engraven on their hearts.

In the preamble of the principal article of the edict of 1787 in favour of the protestants, it will be seen, not to what political rights they were admitted, but how low the spirit of intolerance had degraded them. This preamble forms an apology for the tyrant Louis XIV. ; bears involuntary but honourable testimony to the rectitude of the sufferers, whom no rigors it

acknowledges could convert; and formally avows that nothing is to be conceded “but what the right of nature will not permit a government to refuse, namely, the legal evidence of their births, marriages, and deaths.” The edict was a benefit, which the weak government of Louis XVI. conferred, and the state of the country wrung from old and stubborn prejudices; but while the reformed were still excluded from all offices in the judicature, and every place giving the right of public instruction; while they were interdicted a social capacity to deliberate, or to hold property, they had much to receive from the justice and liberality of the approaching revolution.

Without seats in parliament, places at court, or offices in the government, how could the protestants, a small minority, and but just possessed of legal existence, how could the protestants influence a national movement, or give an impulse to the parliaments, the magistracy, the clergy, and the public bodies, who began the struggle with the crown? The charge is so absurd, that it could only be urged by the most desperate demagogues, to deceive the most ignorant of the people. If they appeared as citizens at the breaking out of the revolution, it was because opinion had branded a monstrous system of legislation; but popular sentiments are not enactments. They had no rights; they breathed indeed, but it was by a contravention of the laws; it was by being guilty of a kind of sedi-

tion, that they kept their children near them ; and by a non-administration of the statutes that they did not fill the galleys and the gaols. Happy in escaping persecution, though marked as its victims and every instant exposed, they would have feared to rouse their foes from their slumbers, and to lose in a moment the comfort of even a precarious security.

## CHAPTER II.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION, AND MEETING OF THE STATES GENERAL. — DECLARATIONS OF THE CLERGY. — DECLARATIONS OF THE NOBLESSE OF LANGUEDOC. — UNION OF THE THREE ORDERS AT NISMES. — ACTIVITY OF THE MEN WHO AFTERWARDS PERSECUTED THE PROTESTANTS, IN FAVOR OF THE REVOLUTION. — CHOICE OF DEPUTIES. — THEIR INSTRUCTIONS. — ADDRESSES TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ON THE DEMOLITION OF THE BASTILE, &C. — FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.

A POLITICAL reformation was the wish of all France ; the impulse was general, and the protestants were identified with the catholic population. The unanimity was demonstrated by authentic acts and public deliberations. The bailiwicks and sénéchaussées gave written instructions to their represensatives in the States General, which was about to assemble ; each order prepared, and published separately its own. The order of the clergy was in general cautious and intolerant in its meetings ; but though, in many instances, it demanded the revocation of the edict passed in favor of the protestants in 1787—the exclusive right of the catholics to all public exercise of religion — the compulsion of protestants to baptize their children in the parochial churches — the prohibition of all inter or mixt marriages ; and though, in some places,

it demanded the censorship of the press — the preservation of all the privileges of the sacred corps — and the voting by separate orders; still, in other provinces, it expressed opinions and wishes which are now considered criminal, and the odium of which it is attempted to throw entirely on the protestants.

The clergy of Autun “desired ardently that the national assembly should charge itself with the formation of a constitution, and a charter which should include the rights of all:” the clergy of Dijon declared, “that the nation has a right to assemble for the exercise and preservation of its rights, to choose freely its deputies, and to regulate the taxes; that all citizens are equally eligible to places and employments, and that all may aspire to them, according to their talents, their merit, and their services. The clergy of Saumur resolved, “that the concordat between Francis the first and Leo the tenth should be abolished, and that the liberty of elections should be established.” The clergy of Auxerre were of opinion, “that no national law should be established and proclaimed, without the authority of the king, and the free consent of the States General.” The clergy of Lyons considered it “necessary to the establishment and promulgation of any constitutional law, that it should be first approved and accepted by the States General, and sanctioned by the king.” Others required the abolition of lettres de cachet and arbitrary taxation, the



election of popular municipalities, the freedom of the person, and trial by jury. Such were the sentiments of the catholic clergy, and such their declarations \* ; — let the calumniators of the protestants produce similar meetings and declarations on the part of the calvinistic synods.

The declarations of the nobles are before the world, but they may still surprise those who have been taught to believe that the revolution was hatched by the protestants, and effected by the lower classes of the people, seduced by wicked and treasonable writings. The noblesse of Languedoc will not be suspected ; but it is a fact, that they were amongst the most zealous instigators of the revolution in the south, and that the very persons who, under the mask of patriotism, afterwards dishonored a cause which they embraced with such apparent ardour, urged on so rapidly the course of affairs, that the assistance of the protestants was scarcely necessary, and almost superfluous. This desire of reform displayed itself at Nismes with as much enthusiasm as in any other city of France. A patriotic zeal, at that important epoch, not only dictated the conduct of the *sénéchaussée*, but inspired the addresses of the nobles and the clergy. A public meeting was held on the 5th December 1788, in order to obtain a number of representatives of the *tiers-état*, equal to that of the clergy and the nobles united. The royal lieutenant presided,

\* See *Resumé des cahiers et pouvoirs*, &c. tom. i.

Baron Marguerite, first consul, took the lead in the discussion, and the citizens resolved unanimously, “that the object of the meeting should be pursued, and that the votes should be taken not in separate orders but together.” The phrases were sufficiently revolutionary, and the declaration was signed by 2000 persons; among whom should be especially noticed, M. VIDAL, Baron CALVIÈRE, and 5 MM. FROMENTS. Their names will become important in the history of the revolution.

On the 22d of the same month, December 1788, the three orders, the clergy, the nobles, and the tiers-état, met at the Hôtel de Ville to consider of the propriety of calling a general meeting of the three orders of the diocese of Nismes. “O, my fellow patriots,” exclaimed Baron Marguerite, “let this day of union be memorable in our annals. Let us be Frenchmen, let us be only Frenchmen, let us think of nothing but the safety of the country, that each of us may be able to say to the impatient multitude, when we leave this hall, ‘I have seen an assembly of friends and of brothers.’” The bishop of Nismes expressed his wish for the convocation, the measure was adopted, and forty-eight deputies were chosen to attend the diocesan assembly, of whom eight were clergy, sixteen nobles, and twenty four commoners. Six commissioners were appointed to call the general meeting; of these, two were protestants and four were catholics; M. VIDAL being of the number. The commissioners ad-

dressed a letter to the citizens of Languedoc, and it is worth while to notice the sentences which follow : “ these sublime and important discussions on the rights of man and of citizens, will produce the most happy revolution.—If the States General is composed according to the law of nature, the body of the nation will regenerate itself.” The meeting of the three orders of the diocese was accordingly held December 29th ; the same sentiments were declared in favour of voting together in the States General, of popular elections, and in fact, of every thing on which the court and the people were divided. Six commissioners were again appointed to carry into effect the resolutions of this meeting, among whom M. VIDAL is again to be found.

Such was the state of affairs at the close of 1788. Protestants and catholics lived as brethren ; admitted into the nominations, in proportion to their numbers, and caressed by all the orders, the fears of the former were dissipated, and the bigotry of the latter seemed lost beyond recovery. But let it be remembered, that the impulse which the protestants received, they could not, they would not have given. Estranged in general from public business, they were not able to produce a great effect ; and too full of the recollection of sufferings, yet recent, they were not so imprudent as to provoke suspicion and ill will, by attempting the political regeneration which occupied the public mind.

On the 17th of March 1789, the three orders of the sénéchaussée of Nismes, assembled by order of the king, to prepare their instructions and nominate their deputies. The Grand Seneschal, the Marquis de Fournés, conducted the proceedings: "At length," said he, "the period is arrived, when the pressure of the times, and the diffusion of knowledge, appear to co-operate in humbling the throne before reason and natural right;" and at the conclusion of his speech, he thus addressed the commons; "And you, third estate, on whom the hand of tyranny has pressed so heavily and so cruelly, you have so much the more right to expect an important change in your existence. The nation, in resuming its rights, will weigh your interests in the balances of reason and justice." Each order then proceeded to elect its deputies, and prepare their instructions. Two hundred and seventy-one members of the order of noblesse of Beaucaire and Nismes were present when the instructions were adopted; instructions so enlightened and patriotic, that justice requires the insertion of some of the articles. "The assembly (say they) being freely and legally constituted, the deputies shall demand and vote for a constitution, which shall establish the rights of the monarch and of the nation; they shall demand personal liberty, the liberty of the press, the illegality of all taxes unless granted by the States General; that the nation be represented by the States General regularly summoned and

freely assembled; that the tiers-état shall have as many deputies as the clergy and nobles together; that in these meetings, votes shall be taken by heads and not by orders; the legal responsibility and punishment of ministers." After reading these imperative demands, it will be inferred, that the revolution had commenced in Languedoc; and that the noblesse of that province, among whom were very few protestants, had no need of the illuminations of Calvin to render them hostile to the existing government.

The tiers-état appointed commissioners to prepare instructions for their deputies; and among these was one protestant, the celebrated Rabaut St. Etienne. He had been at Paris in the year 1786, and had published there his *Letters to Bailly on the history of Greece*; a work, which gained him great credit and many friends. He had also presented memorials and offered explanations in behalf of the protestants; and the simplicity of his habits, united with the dignity and virtue of his conduct, rendered him a general favourite. The literary reputation of M. Rabaut pointed him out, as the principal author of the wishes of the tiers-état.

The introduction to this document will shew whether the doctrines of his religion had taught the editor to degrade, or, as the nobles expressed themselves, to humble the throne. "The third estate of the sénéchaussée of Nismes, assembled by order of the King, hastens (said he) to meet his paternal views, and to present to him the

wishes of his people for every thing calculated to establish permanent and invariable order in all parts of the government. As it is the greatest benefit which can emanate from the goodness of a monarch, to call his subjects round him, to consult them themselves on every thing that he may be able to accomplish for their happiness ; so the first duty of the people, affected by his kindness, is to carry to the feet of the sovereign the respectful testimonies of their unceasing gratitude.”

Out of *sixteen* deputies to the States General, *three* only were protestants, and they could not have been indebted for their election to the suffrages of their brethren, who were too few in the mass of voters, but to the general feeling, which selected from all classes, the men most likely to be useful to the country. Such a union, such concord, could not but gratify and delight a minority, who, though respectable and numerous, had not that influence which is necessarily attendant on public stations and important offices.

The States General assembled, and the conflicts between the court and the deputies, produced correspondent sensations in the southern provinces, and especially in the Gard. No sooner was it known that the assembly, denounced by the government, and surrounded by bayonets, had raised the standard of independence, and declared itself national ; that the persons of its members were inviolable, and that it was joined by

the majority of the clergy, than the sénéchaussée of Nismes assembled, and on the eighth day of July 1789, entered on the records of the municipality, with the concurrence of the political council, a congratulatory and flattering address. “ We applaud, say they, with all France, your immoveable firmness, your persevering fortitude, and every heart is touched at the recital of your difficulties and labours. Your deliberations have diffused among us hope and joy ; and we adhere, especially, to those of the 17th and 23d of June, with the respect and confidence due to your great wisdom. Generous citizens, persevere.”

The intelligence of the events of the 13th and 14th of July, and the demolition of the Bastile, called together again the three orders ; and the 20th of July witnessed an assemblage unusually numerous and enthusiastic. The halls of the Hôtel de Ville were too small to contain the voters, among whom were the members of the clergy of the sénéchaussée especially convened ; the sitting was adjourned to the hall of the palace. The meeting declared that it was afflicted with the disasters in which a despotic aristocracy had involved the country ; that the promises of the monarch inspired no confidence, because his throne was surrounded by the cruel and perfidious advisers, who had caused the public misery, and kept from the sovereign his true friends, and the persons who would ensure his glory and the happiness of the nation ; that it

adhered to all the measures of the national assembly ; that it regarded as infamous and traitors, all the agents of despotism, the favourers of aristocracy, and all generals, officers, and soldiers, national or foreign, who turned against the French the arms which they had received for the defence of the state ; that the citizens who had lost their lives in resisting the real enemies of the monarchy, were martyrs of patriotism, and that the families of these generous victims should be provided for by the national assembly. “Fathers of the country, say they, accept our eternal gratitude ; your patriotism has saved the state ; your courage has humbled the aristocracy ; consummate your work ; we devote to execration and your justice, the agents of despotism and the deceivers of the king. With whatever titles they may be invested, to whatever rank they may be exalted, we demand vengeance on their heads, in the name of oppressed France, outraged humanity, betrayed faith, and violated liberty. The moment is come when the people would rather bury themselves under the ruins of France, than live in shame and bondage.”

The presentation of copies of the proceedings to the city of Paris, and their distribution throughout all the provinces, were decreed ; and a commission was appointed to sign and dispatch them, including the Abbé de Rochemore, vicar general ; Clemenceau, curé of the parish of St. Castor Nismes ; the Abbé Marmier ; the Baron de la Baulme, and, as always, M. VIDAL ; and the sig-



natures, in the revolutionary style, were affixed without distinction of precedence or rank.

But this was not enough. The noblesse of the S<sup>én</sup>échaussée of Nismes, thought it their duty, separately, and formally, to give their opinions in the shape of an address to the national assembly. This patriotic address of the 3d of August avows to the “fathers of the country” that “the love of liberty is the most powerful passion of the order; that it will defend, to the last breath, the acts of that body, and the interests and just rights of the king, against the traitors who attack them, and shed its last drop of blood to defend or avenge the persons of the deputies; that it acknowledges the right of the king to choose his own ministers, but urges him to preserve to the country useful citizens, who possess public gratitude; and it entreats the assembly to punish, by the authority which is inherent in the nation, those who plot its ruin.”

It was with these sentiments that the noblesse united in the general armament. France at this period was occupied with the formation of a national guard; every town and hamlet had its militia; and the same organisation universally prevailed. The general good, the same constitution for all the provinces, and the reform of all abuses, were the maxims of the day. The militia of Nismes was formed, conformably with the general sentiments, on the 20th of July, 1789. The *procès verbal* of this important transaction

forms an incontestible proof of the state of public feeling. Nothing could be more frank or unanimous. Twelve commissioners were appointed to prepare the plan; and here again we find that M. VIDAL, who in 1815 was commissary of police. The militia, called the Légion Nimoise, consisted of 1349 rank and file, divided into twenty-four companies, attached to four quarters of the city, and directed by a permanent council; in which were two abbés and a vicar-general, and but *three* protestants to *eighteen* catholics. The officers were elected by their companies, and the captains and superior officers formed part of the permanent council. The arrangements formed as many fêtes; and, in the south, catholics and protestants united in religious thanksgivings for the new order of things.

Thus we have seen, that in the expression of political sentiment — the choice of deputies, — the communications to the national assembly — and the construction of an armed force, there had existed neither opposition, suspicion, nor jealousy. In looking on the mass of evidence before me, I feel that I have sacrificed effect to brevity; but I hope enough has been said to establish, so far, the peaceable, virtuous, and unambitious conduct of the members of the reformed communion.

## CHAPTER III.

DISCONTENT OF THE COURTIER AND THE CLERGY. — MOTION OF TALLEYRAND AND OTHER BISHOPS FOR THE ALIENATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY. — EMIGRATION OF THE COURT. — PARTY FORMED BY VIDAL AND FROMENT AT NISMES. — ELECTION OF A MUNICIPALITY. — ZEAL OF THE PRIESTS AND CAPUCHINS AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS. — FORMATION OF CATHOLIC COMPANIES. — FROMENT'S REVELATIONS. — LETTERS OF LOUIS XVIII. AND MONSIEUR TO FROMENT. — HIS RETURN FROM TURIN. — CATHOLIC TROOPS COLLECTED. — ELECTION OF CIVIL OFFICERS. — ELECTORAL ASSEMBLY ATTACKED. — MASSACRES. — CATHOLICS FORTIFY SEVERAL POINTS. — MILITARY LAW PROCLAIMED. — CORRESPONDENCE INTERCEPTED. — MAYOR OF ST. COSME KILLED BY THE CAPUCHINS. — SLAUGHTER OF THE CAPUCHINS. — CATHOLICS BESIEGED. — SURRENDER OF FROMENT. — ARRIVAL OF TROOPS FROM MONTPELLIER. — TRANQUILLITY RESTORED. — TESTIMONY OF THE COMMISSIONERS IN FAVOUR OF THE PROTESTANTS.

At length those individuals who began to apprehend danger to their personal interests, from the various reforms which were decreed by the assembly, were rallied and reinforced by the clergy, who were alarmed at the project of appropriating the property of the church to the service of the nation. In the discussion of the 4th of August, on the abolition of privileges, the bishops of Montpellier, Nismes, and Uzes, had acknowledged, that, in their opinion, the nation

had a right to dispose of the property possessed by the church ; and on the 10th of October, a motion to that effect was made, not by an obscure individual, or a vengeful protestant, but by M. Talleyrand de Perigord, bishop of Autun ; distinguished by his rank, his property, and his prospects. The bishops of Chartres and Nancy, and the archbishops of Bourdeaux, Vienne, and Aix, were among those who demanded most loudly revolutionary abolitions, which protestants would not have dared to whisper ; and on the 2d of November 1789, that most important measure was decreed. The emigration of the friends and favourites of the court had already commenced. Although at that period nothing had been ventured but what the charter now guarantees, a party every day increased, who proclaimed the nobles democratic ; the bishops impious ; and the king seditious. The clergy rapidly changed their opinions : the loss of their wealth opened their eyes on the dangers of the faith ; and the *constitution civile* excited their holy protestations for the inviolability of the sanctuary. The reverend priesthood had indeed voted, with acclamation, that the nobles should be stripped, but the possessions of the church were of a holier nature ; the alarm spread, and fanaticism was every where invoked.

The defeated courtiers united with the clergy, in order to make use of them for their own purposes. To gain the support of a royalist

party, the clergy became suddenly attached to the old state of things at court. Ambitious, mercenary, or disappointed individuals, united with both. All availed themselves of each other. The courtiers became zealous for the faith, the priests were intoxicated with royalty; the ALTAR and the THRONE were the watchwards; the name of the king was employed to sanction the violence and disloyalty of the fanatics, and fanaticism was enkindled on purpose to give an energy, and inspire a zeal, which the cause of the courtiers failed to excite. These are neither speculations nor assertions; the facts are revealed by the parties themselves, and neither doubt nor mystery rests on their transactions. At Nismes, in the month of October, 1789, some companies of militia were formed, entirely of catholic citizens; Froment, receiver to the chapter of the cathedral, was one of the chiefs, and Folacher, his brother-in-law, and Gentin, cousin to M. Vidal, the *procureur*, were captains. Three of these new companies presented themselves on the 15th of October, before the permanent council, to take the oath, but the council wished to defer till the next day the performance of the ceremony. The proposition was rejected with scorn: Froment caused the doors of the Hôtel de Ville to be closed, and the council, intimidated by his audacity, permitted the companies to be immediately sworn.

From this moment a fermentation commenced in the minds of the inhabitants of Nismes,

which was rendered more active and more evident, by inflammatory writings and deep intrigues. The municipality was to be elected in January, 1790. It was of great importance that the election should promote the views of the counter-revolutionists; and, for some time before, secret meetings were held, to secure the nomination of catholics. The first meetings were held in the house of a curé, and in the church of the White Penitents. The abbés Clémenceau, curé of the parish of St. Castor, and Brayouse, curé of St. Paul's, were among the principal directors of the operations. Presidents, secretaries, and scrutineers were appointed for the different sections. Not only were all protestants to be excluded, but the exclusion was to extend to those catholics who, from their circumstances, were particularly connected with protestants. M. Levêsqe was nominated for the presidency of a section; an apothecary, named Razoux, opposed the nomination. "Though a catholic," said he, "Levêsqe is surgeon to the protestant hospital, and we must have nothing in common with those people." Levêsqe was not elected; but Razoux became a municipal officer.

The priests afterwards met publicly to concert measures, and exerted themselves openly to secure success. The abbés Cabanel, Mitier Gervais, and Clavières, and even the choristers of the cathedral, copied and distributed the lists. But the most ardent and active instigator

of these disgraceful intrigues was the abbé La Pierre, theologist of the cathedral. He became the missionary of intolerance, and travelled the country, exciting the curés to influence the elections. The inferior clergy, in too many instances, answered to his discordant voice. The curés of Rodilhan, Bouillargues, Garons, and Courbessac, exhorted their people from the pulpit, to vote only by the catholic lists, and received and distributed the money which the abbé La Pierre furnished, to pay the voters, for the time they lost in attending on the election.

The laity exerted themselves with equal zeal. M. VIDAL, who had signed so many revolutionary addresses, whom we have seen on so many committees, and who was commissary of police during the massacres of 1815, attended the meetings held at the house of the abbé Clémenceau, and fed the fire which soon inflamed the passions of the fanatical multitude. M. Vidal, who was made *procureur* of the commune; M. Michel, counsellor to the presidial; M. Velut, captain of the national guard; M. Laurent, who was elected municipal officer, and an immense number of agents were in motion, and on the day of election they occupied the gates of the city, and the inns, while the abbé Esperandieu took post in the court of the palace. Such exertions could hardly fail. With the exception of *one* protestant, M. Vincent Valz, the municipality, consisting of eighteen persons, was composed of

catholics ; such catholics as La Pierre and his party wished. The abbé \* himself, and the abbé Cabanel became members of the council of the commune.

This degree of success was valued as the means, and not as the end. Victory pointed to conquest, and the march of the persecutors was rapid and licentious. Inflammatory and libellous writings, calculated to rouse the worst passions, were circulated with profusion and impunity. One entitled, “ Pierre Romain to the catholics of Nismes,” contained such appeals as these: “ Close against the protestants the door to all offices, and all civil and military honours ; for this purpose let a powerful tribunal watch night and day, and you will soon see them abandon *their religion*. They want to participate in the advantages you enjoy, but no sooner shall you have permitted them, than they will study to rob you, and they will soon succeed. Ungrateful vipers ! benumbed, they have been unable to injure you ; warmed by your kindness, they will only revive to inflict death. — They are your natural enemies ; your fathers escaped by miracle from their bloody hands ; to kill is nothing with them ; the most cruel torments must furnish the means of destruction ; such they have been, and such they are.”

\* M. Surville, nephew and heir to this furious abbé, was active in 1814 against the protestants. In 1815 he was colonel of the national guard of Nismes ; afterward receiver-general ; and finally distinguished by letters of nobility.



In a letter to Pierre Romain, the author under the title of Charles the Sincere, (*alias* the Ninth,) enquires, “ Will it be advantageous to expel the protestants from the kingdom ?” and answers in the affirmative. He predicts, “ that if the national assembly should give them the right of being eligible to public offices, it will occasion divisions, eternal troubles, and perhaps a revolution ; and he, therefore, advises the inhabitants of Languedoc to recall the protestant deputies, especially M. Rabaut, to disarm all the protestant military, to double the militia, and to form an union of all the neighbouring catholic communes.” The inhabitants appealed to the municipality, and entreated it “ to suppress libels designed to divide and inspire with hatred, and mark with contrary qualifications, the children of the same country, Frenchmen, Christians, adorers of the same God.” They appealed in vain. The regular troops were excited against the new national guards, and the people were excited to massacre ; but the municipality would not interfere : there was a power behind it greater than itself. The manufactory of these articles was the convent of the Capuchins. The brother Modeste was the most zealous distributor. He went from the convent loaded with the mischievous sheets, gave them to passengers in the streets, hawked them from house to house, and kept a sort of office at the convent, where any person might be supplied on application.

I must now bring forward the authors and objects of this abominable plot, as disclosed by their own confessions. Francois Froment, son and successor of the receiver to the chapter, who has been already mentioned, and who played so high a game, has published since the restoration, two pamphlets; one in 1815, entitled, “Recueil de divers Écrits relatifs à la Révolution, par M. Froment, Secrétaire de Cabinet du Roi ;” and another, in 1817, addressed to M. le Marquis de Foucault, &c. &c. The first, appears to have been produced during the reign of terror in 1815, as a proud record of the connection between the author and the royal family ; and a celebration of the triumph of ultra principles. The second discovers his dissatisfaction with the wages of his iniquity, and is a sort of memorial of the services rendered to his party, and of the violated promises of his patrons and employers. They form together an invaluable *exposé* of the intrigues and plots, by which liberty and protestantism were to have been sacrificed to mercenary individuals or despotic factions.

From these infatuated revelations, I shall make considerable extracts, not only because the publications have been so carefully suppressed, that it is next to impossible to find a single copy, but because they illustrate the general history of the period ; and, especially, because they prove the deliberate excitement of religious animosity ; and that, in 1790, there would have been neither contention nor bloodshed, but for the persecu-

tions of the same men, who have ever since intrigued, and who, in 1815, seized the power.

“ Faithful to my *religion*, and my king,” says M. Froment, “ I endeavoured to diffuse the spirit “ by which I was animated. I published in 1789 “ several writings, in which I exhibited the dangers which threatened the *altar* and the throne. “ My compatriots, struck with the justness of “ my observations, manifested the most ardent “ zeal. Desirous of taking advantage of these “ favourable dispositions, I went secretly to Turin, in January, 1790, to solicit the approbation and assistance of the French princes.

“ In a special meeting which was held on my “ arrival, I shewed them, that if they would “ arm the partizans of the *altar* and the throne, “ and make the interests of *religion* march with “ those of loyalty, it would be easy to save both. “ My plan was to form a party, and to give it “ consistency and extension. The true argument of the revolutionists being force, I felt “ that force was the best answer. Then, as “ now, I was convinced of this great truth, *that “ one strong passion can only be stifled by exciting “ a stronger, and that religious zeal alone could “ restrain republican mania.* The miracles, which “ religious zeal has wrought since then, in La “ Vendée and in Spain, have proved what would “ have been the effect of such a project as mine, “ if the counsellors of the emigrant princes had “ sincerely adopted and really supported it; if “ they had employed the powerful means which

“ *religion* presents, and of which the greatest  
“ politicians have so often availed themselves  
“ with success.

“ The princes, assured of the truth of my re-  
“ port, and of the reality of my means, promised  
“ me arms and ammunition to suppress the fac-  
“ tious, and Monsieur Comte d’Artois gave me  
“ letters of recommendation to the principal  
“ nobles of Upper Languedoc, that I might con-  
“ cert my measures with the gentry of that  
“ country, who had engaged to restore to *reli-*  
“ *gion its useful influence*. On my return from  
“ Turin, in February, 1790, I immediately visit-  
“ ed the principal cities to confer with the cor-  
“ respondents of Monsieur Comte d’Artois.  
“ After having determined on a general plan,  
“ and arranged a secret correspondence, I re-  
“ turned to Nismes; where, waiting the suc-  
“ cours which were promised at Turin, and  
“ which I never received, I employed myself in  
“ exciting the zeal of the inhabitants. It was  
“ at my instance that they adopted the declar-  
“ ation of the 20th of April, which demanded,  
“ that *the catholic worship alone* should be per-  
“ mitted, and which was signed by 5000 citizens.  
“ If the Marquis de Bouzol, commandant of Lan-  
“ guedoc, had armed the royalists which I had  
“ at my command in the month of May, as he  
“ was pressed to do by the princes, he would  
“ have prevented the catastrophe. Compelled  
“ to expatriate myself, I went from Aigues-mor-  
“ tes to Nice, and from thence to Turin. By

“ each post the Marquis de la Rouzière, sent  
 “ me assistance for my journey, and informed  
 “ me, by order of Monsieur Comte d’Artois, that  
 “ his royal highness would *share with me his last*  
 “ *crown*. Monsieur Comte d’Artois deigned  
 “ to assure me, in the presence of the princes of  
 “ his house, that I might be tranquil as to my  
 “ future lot, and that of my family; and the  
 “ Duke d’Angoulême told me, that he and his  
 “ brother would never forget my zeal, but take  
 “ every opportunity to give me special proofs of  
 “ their gratitude and esteem.

“ One day, when I had been talking to M.  
 “ Comte d’Artois on the affairs of the South, he  
 “ said to me, ‘Froment, have you any money?’—  
 “ ‘Yes, Sir, I have some of the 100 Louis left,  
 “ which you sent to me at Nice.’ — ‘Ah! there  
 “ you cannot have much of that; take these  
 “ fifty Louis,’ said the Prince, ‘and when I am  
 “ rich, I will treat you more handsomely.’

“ When the Prince of Condé left Turin for  
 “ Germany, he said, ‘Froment, here is a letter  
 “ directed for you.’ On reaching my apart-  
 “ ment, I found in the parcel about 100 Louis,  
 “ and immediately returned to thank his Serene  
 “ Highness. ‘My dear Froment,’ he replied,  
 “ ‘whenever you are in want, you may apply  
 “ to me with perfect confidence.’ ” \*

\* *Extract of a Letter from the Prince de Condé.*

“ Stutgard, Jan. 31. 1791.

“ I thank you, my dear Froment, for the news which  
 you have sent me; it gives me pleasure, and agrees with

“ These marks of kindness and attention,  
 “ made me forget my personal interests, for  
 “ those of the Bourbons. By secret corre-  
 “ spondence, and thousands of publications cir-  
 “ culated in the South, I formed the good  
 “ spirit which now prevails, (1815,) and oc-  
 “ casioned various risings at the time, especially  
 “ that known by the name of the Camp of  
 “ Jales.

“ Unhappily, the emigrants were divided  
 “ into two parties; the one wishing to attempt  
 “ a counter-revolution, by the assistance of the  
 “ foreign powers, and the other by the native  
 “ royalists. The former maintained, that by  
 “ ceding to the foreigners some provinces, they  
 “ would furnish armies sufficiently powerful  
 “ to reduce the factions; that afterwards, the  
 “ country ceded, might be easily reconquered,  
 “ and that the court, not contracting any ob-  
 “ ligation to any party in the state, might  
 “ dictate the law to all France.

“ In one of our discussions, I exhibited the

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that which I have received by a deputy of the camp of Jalez, who is come express to assure us of the good dispositions of the country.

“ Follow, in this respect, as in every other, the orders which MM. de Miran and de Serent may give you; as for me, I am too distant to send you any. *Do not doubt, my dear Froment, the desire I shall always feel to testify all the interest which we owe to your zeal, to your devotedness, and to your misfortunes.*

“ *To M. Froment, Turin.*”

“ N. B. This letter is written by the hand of the Prince de Condé.”

“ means that should be adopted in the Cevennes,  
“ and Languedoc; and in the heat of debate,  
“ the Marquis d’Antichamp said to me, ‘ But  
“ the relatives of the victims, will they not try  
“ to avenge themselves?’ — ‘ And what does  
“ that signify?’ I replied, ‘ provided we do but  
“ gain our end.’ — ‘ Observe that,’ cried he, ‘ I  
“ have made him acknowledge, that they would  
“ indulge private vengeance.’ I said to M.  
“ Rouzière, near me, I did not suppose that a  
“ civil war was to resemble a mission of Ca-  
“ puchins.

“ The second party argued, that as the  
“ powers had often taken arms to humble the  
“ Bourbons, instead of calling them in, we  
“ ought to rouse the *zeal of the clergy*, &c. &c.,  
“ and make haste to extinguish a domestic  
“ quarrel, of which the foreigners would per-  
“ haps be tempted to take advantage. The con-  
“ duct of the allies towards Louis XVIII., and  
“ their claims on France now, (1815,) prove,  
“ that the emigrants were right, in mistrusting  
“ them in 1790.

“ I was employed by the Comte d’Artois in  
“ Italy, in Spain, (M. le Marquis d’Arbaud  
“ Jouques, prefect of the Gard in 1815, joined  
“ me at Barcelona,) and at Coblentz, till July  
“ 1792 \*, when I was admitted into the corps

\* *Instructions for M. Froment.*

Monsieur Froment will go to Genoa, and have full powers to make use of the sum of 260,000 livres which are in the hands of the banker, and promised by the king of

“ of Languedocian gentlemen at Lorch. The  
“ princes having proposed to form in the

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Naples; and the sum thus advanced, shall be considered on account of that which is further expected. If the remittance be received, M. Froment shall proceed to Naples, and M. le Baron de Talleyrand, to whom he will be recommended, will facilitate his application to the court of Naples for the assistance of 300,000 livres, by acquainting it with the projected appropriation of this money.

1. It will be employed to form *bureaux* of correspondence in the different cantons of the South: these establishments will communicate with each other, inform the princes of the state of the provinces, and instruct the General who may command there on the internal resources which he may have at his disposal.

2. A part of this sum will be destined to *assist the curés who have been dispossessed, and the most indigent of the catholics.*

3. The remainder of this sum will be appropriated to the purchase of grain, &c. These arrangements must depend on the information which M. Froment obtains on his journey. The princes calculate on his intelligence and zeal.

If M. Froment could obtain from the court of Naples arms and ammunition, it would be of essential service; above all, if he can dispose of them so as to render their distribution both prompt and secure.

As soon as his negociation at Naples shall have terminated, fortunately or otherwise, M. Froment will go into Spain. At Barcelona he will obtain every information on the state of the emigrants, and the dispositions preparing on the Spanish frontier. He will go forward to Madrid, where he will apply to M. le Duc d'Havre who will advise him on the means of obtaining succour from the Spanish government. If his efforts at the court of Naples have succeeded, he will limit his demands here to 300,000 livres, which may be employed in the purchase of grain, and part of that sum in succouring the town of *Arles*.



“ interior, corps of faithful subjects, to be em-  
 “ ployed till troops of the line could be  
 “ organised; I expressed my wish to Comte  
 “ d’Artois that the *same* royalists, who had  
 “ fought under my orders in 1790, might be  
 “ united, and that H. R. H. would grant me  
 “ the rank of Colonel-Commandant : H. R. H.

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If, on the contrary, the visit to Naples has been unsuccessful, M. Froment is authorised to solicit 600,000 livres.

The devotedness with which M. Froment has applied himself to the service of the *King and Religion*, induces the princes to give him the highest marks of a confidence which they are assured he will never abuse, and they expect that he will communicate to them all which may interest their hope or their fears.

(Signed) LOUIS-STANISLAS-XAVIER.

(Signed) CHARLES-PHILLIPE.

Coblentz, Jan. 8. 1792.

*Instructions to M. Froment, going into Spain.*

The object of the mission of M. Froment being principally to obtain from Spain those succours which are necessary to the re-establishment of *the religion of our fathers*, and the authority of the king, in the provinces of the South; he is instructed to make the Spanish government feel the importance of *preventing the Calvinists* from making a rampart of the mountains of Gevauden, and the Cevennes, and from becoming a party in the state, which would prove fatal to France, and dangerous to its neighbours. The local knowledge of M. Froment, and the character which his zeal and attachment to the good cause has acquired him in Languedoc, render him a suitable agent to advise, on the possibilities and facilities of this enterprise.

(Signed) LOUIS-STANISLAS-XAVIER.

CHARLES-PHILLIPE.

Coblentz, May 20. 1792.

“ approved my request \*, but the Bishop of  
 “ Arras, and Baron Flachslanden thought it  
 “ singular that a *bourgeois* should pretend to  
 “ military rank. ‘ Why do you not ask for a  
 “ bishoprick?’ said the bishop: ‘ no, no, we must  
 “ have *bourgeois* in your brevet;” and the corps  
 “ was according entitled *Légions Bourgeoises*.

“ In 1793 I could have raised a legion in  
 “ Catalonia, and have followed the military  
 “ career in Spain. M. Ricardo wished me to  
 “ form the emigrants from the Gard, the Hé-  
 “ rault, and the Bouches du Rhone, into a corps,  
 “ and take the command; but the desire of  
 “ fulfilling the mission of Louis XVIII., relative  
 “ to the south of France, induced me to sacri-  
 “ fice my personal interests. Since the army

\* *Brevet of Colonel.*

The accounts which we have received of the state of the province of Languedoc induce us to think, that it would be useful to the service of his majesty, could there be employed forces for the re-establishment of the *altar* and the throne; and *légions bourgeoises* formed provisionally, to maintain order in the cities and in the country. We have chosen the Sieur Froment to command one of them, when we shall believe it necessary to raise them. The services which he has already rendered since the commencement of the troubles, and those which he is still prepared to offer, and the honourable testimonies which the nobility have given us of his zeal and attachment to the king, have decided us to grant him this command as a proof of our confidence and esteem.

(Signed) LOUIS-STANISLAS-XAVIER.

(Signed) CHARLES-PHILLIPE.

Coblentz, May 20. 1792.

“ of the princes was disbanded, I have been  
 “ employed, by their order, at every court in  
 “ Europe, to obtain arms and equipments ne-  
 “ cessary to raise again *my party in the south*.  
 “ In 1795 I received the brevet of private secre-  
 “ tary of the king. \* Till the moment of the  
 “ restoration, I received a pension both from  
 “ his majesty and the *British government*; and,  
 “ dating my emigration from January, 1790,  
 “ till June, 1814, I have been more than twenty-  
 “ four years in the service of their royal high-  
 “ nesses, either on missions, or at their disposal,  
 “ in foreign countries. † During the last years

\* *Brevet of the Private Secretary of the King.*

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, wishing to recompense the zeal which the Sieur Francois Froment has shewn since the commencement of the revolution, equally in the service of the kings, our brother and nephew, as well as our own, we have given him the place of our private secretary, to exercise the duties of that office, as soon as circumstances will permit.

Given the 2d of November, 1795, and the 1st of our reign.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Sealed with the Royal Arms, by the King.

(Signed) LE BARON DE FLACHSLANDEN.

† *Extract of a Letter from Monsieur Comte d'Artois.*

Edinburgh, Oct. 18. 1798.

Your letter of the 14th of September respects two objects. The first relates to the service which you believe you could render in London, by communicating there the ideas and private intelligence which you possess, on the situation of the southern provinces. The southern part of France, on which turns principally the application of your means, has been referred, for some time, to the exclusive direction of

“ of the emigration, and at the moment of the  
“ first restoration, my only desire was to obtain  
“ the situation of secretary of the king’s ca-  
“ binet, of which Louis XVIII. had given  
“ me the brevet at Verona, in 1795: but  
“ M. le Comte de Blacas, well assured that  
“ no human consideration would prevent my  
“ speaking the truth to the king, opposed con-  
“ stantly, *as minister of the king’s household*, my  
“ filling that office. Deprived of an employ-  
“ ment, merited by twenty-five years of services  
“ and sacrifices, I solicited the place of consul-  
“ general, and of *chargé d’affaires* at Madrid;  
“ M. Talleyrand gave only evasive answers.  
“ Deceived in my hopes, my friends advised  
“ me to secure to myself an independent ex-  
“ istence, an honourable retreat, by limiting my  
“ claims to those indemnities which were my  
“ due, as representative of his highness, Comte  
“ d’Artois, and the military recompenses to  
“ which my services were entitled. I pre-  
“ sented, in consequence, a petition to the king.  
“ After having made many useless attempts to

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the king, and to those whom he has more privately com-  
missioned to act there for his interest. I cannot, therefore,  
authorise any one to treat on these objects with the British  
ministers, as my brother may have formed plans, which in-  
terference may embarrass. It is, therefore, with the king  
directly that you must communicate; and as you can obtain  
passports, and live cheaper there than here, it is to Russia  
that you should bend your steps.

(Signed) CHARLES-PHILLIPE.

To Mr. Froment, Hamburgh.

“ ascertain, what I had either to hope or to  
“ fear, I relinquished these objects, to claim  
“ alone the sums which were due to me on the  
“ thirty millions granted to the king: but  
“ Buonaparte re-appeared upon the scene, and  
“ I directed my course towards Spain, in the  
“ hope of soon returning to *the south* with the  
“ forces which we expected would be raised for  
“ our assistance. Since then, deprived of every  
“ employment, and having a bare maintenance,  
“ (which I did not solicit,) and having the  
“ title of honorary secretary *du cabinet*, (the  
“ brevet of which they have not remitted me,)  
“ I have yet to struggle to obtain some in-  
“ demnities.

“ For more than twenty years I have main-  
“ tained, that it was not in Paris, but in London  
“ and Petersburg, that the foundations of  
“ every throne were sapped, and the fetters for  
“ every nation forged, and this, even when an  
“ opinion prevailed that jacobinism would make  
“ the tour of the world; that there was always  
“ a design to ravish from the Bourbons the  
“ crown of their ancestors, and to dismember  
“ our unhappy country; and, unhappily for  
“ Europe, from Pitt to Castlereagh, the English  
“ ministers have not had intentions more noble,  
“ more profound, or more humane than the  
“ jacobins.\* These opinions I demonstrated

\* If any thing could justify this ungrateful attack, it would be their affording British protection, and lavishing British gold, on such wretches as M. Froment and his party.

“ to Louis XVIII. in my ‘Observations on  
 “ Russia and the Balance of Power,’ addressed  
 “ to him at Verona, in 1795. The conduct of  
 “ Austria in 1791 and 1792 sacrificed the fate  
 “ of the catholic religion, the life of the chief  
 “ of the Bourbons, and the interests of all the  
 “ family, by preventing the princes from enter-  
 “ ing the south, and arming, especially, *religious*  
 “ *zeal*:—and at the congress of Vienna, the  
 “ Prussians, Russians, and English, (to whom  
 “ we owe all our religious wars, since Luther  
 “ and Calvin only preached the errors of Wick-  
 “ liffe,) arrogated the right of deciding the fate  
 “ of the Romish church, and, after the spirit of  
 “ the age, declared, that religion is to concede  
 “ to heresy, and not heresy to religion; and that  
 “ henceforth the Romish, Lutheran, and Cal-  
 “ vinistic religions, were to enjoy a *perfect*  
 “ *equality of rights* throughout the empire.

“ In October, 1815, I wrote to Count Blacas,  
 “ ‘ We have lost the most favourable oppor-  
 “ tunity of rallying all parties around the  
 “ throne, and of replacing France in the rank  
 “ which she ought to hold. The ministry could  
 “ not be ignorant, after the arrival of the king,  
 “ of the *iniquitous pretensions of the allies*, and  
 “ their resolution to dictate to Louis XVIII.  
 “ conditions, more severe than those which  
 “ Buonaparte had rejected before his first ab-  
 “ dication. The first appearance of foreign  
 “ troops on our territory, after the retreat of  
 “ our army to the left bank of the Loire,

“ clearly proved that it was on France and the  
“ Bourbons, and not on Napoleon, that they  
“ made war. The king should have authorised  
“ Madame the Duchess d’Angoulême to have  
“ appeared *alone* in the midst of the camp, to  
“ expose to the army the hostile intentions of  
“ our *pretended* liberators. Our brave soldiers,  
“ moved at the voice of Marie Thérèse, would  
“ have spontaneously repeated the noble cry  
“ of the Hungarians — “ *Moriamur pro Rege*  
“ *nostro !*” and the *enemy*, struck with terror,  
“ would have renounced his *infamous* projects,  
“ and would have again found our heroes in the  
“ road of honour and of victory.”

Such were the men of 1790: selfish and intriguing, they prepared the way for the jacobins and the revolutionary tribunals. Under pretence of loyalty and religion, they goaded the people to the slaughter of priests and princes; and in 1815 they sent the king to Ghent, and brought Napoleon from Elba to Paris; a crime of which they affect to accuse, and for which they murdered, the protestants. But remarks are unnecessary after these citations; and the narrative will therefore be resumed.

From the period of the return of Froment from Turin, no measures were kept.\* On the

\* The account of these events is taken from the report of the commissioners appointed by Louis XVI. and the national assembly, to investigate the facts, and composed from the depositions of several hundred witnesses, examined on oath.

28th of March the municipality was installed; and it is worthy of observation, that the mayor, Baron Marguerite, (who had returned to Nismes by the consent of the national assembly, of which he was a member,) when he took the municipal oath, spoke with the greatest enthusiasm of that very constitution which his party charged as a scandal on the protestants: so true is it, that hypocrisy is not confined to the cloisters of jesuits, nor perfidy to jacobin clubs. Froment, receiver to the chapter — Froment returned ‘from the embrace of Comte d’Artois’ — Froment, captain of one of the catholic companies, appeared at the ceremony with his men armed with forks, made in great quantities for the catholics of Nismes and Uzes, and the backs of which formed as many saws. The lieutenant of the king, colonel of the national guard, refused to admit these ruffians into the line; but he was so insulted by Froment and his company, that he sent in his resignation, and civil war was on the point of commencing, when, at the solicitation of the mayor, he consented to remain at his post.

The town was the theatre of almost daily riots and outrages. M. Chevalier, *procureur*, wrote to the mayor, to apprise him that disturbances would take place; that Froment had at his house a great number of forks; that he had distributed money; and that the press of M. Baume was constantly producing monstrous publications: all was tolerated; and the next



day Froment vented his rage, in insults and threats, against the author of the confidential letter.

The mayor proposed to the municipality an address to the king and the assembly, to demand, after the example of the catholics of Alais, the preservation of the bishopric and the cathedral chapter of Nismes. Two notables wished also to demand the preservation of the convents of both sexes; but the mayor advised them to confine their request to the two first objects, "because," said he, "the national assembly has decreed the fate of the religious orders; and I myself have signed the decrees."

The enemies of order and of liberty no longer held their meetings in the secrecy of the night, or under the veil of darkness. They met on the 20th of April, in the church of the Penitents, took the title of the catholics of Nismes, and resolved on their celebrated declaration, which was signed by some thousand fanatics. This declaration was addressed to all the municipalities of the kingdom, with a letter, stating that it contained the opinions of a great number of *catholiques et bons Francois*, who did not doubt but the religious zeal of others would induce them to approve and emulate it. The letter was signed, Lapierre, president; Froment, &c. commissioners.

The same methods were practised to obtain signatures, as had been employed to secure the formation of the municipality. The *curés*, be-

fore mentioned, from the pulpit, and from house to house, exhorted, and warned, and entreated their people. Citizens, and especially the *travailleurs de terre*, were brought in crowds: they were told that the catholic religion was suppressed, the king in captivity, and that all he had done was null. Most of the municipalities instantly denounced the inflammatory document, and expressed their abhorrence of the conduct of the *soi-disant* catholics of Nismes. The municipality of that city was more calm, and saw with indifference the projects of those miserable men perfectly develop.

On the first of May the soldiers of Froment, and the *travailleurs de terre*, decorated with the white cockade, which the king had forbidden, planted a tree at the mayor's door, and made a procession to the cries of "Down with the nation! down with the *black throats*; *vive la croix et le Roi*." In the evening, they attacked the protestants and the soldiers of the garrison near the mayor's house; and his own coachman was active in the riot. This mayor, Marguerite, was a deputy, and though he had suffered the meeting of the 20th of April and all its consequences, he had heard the king, at the sitting of the 4th of February, declare his entire union with the assembly, and exclaim, "May this day, in which your monarch has united himself to you, in a manner the most frank and intimate, form a memorable epoch in the history of this empire! Let all profess from this day (I

give you the example) but one opinion, one interest, one will,—attachment to the new constitution !” To act in opposition to his will, and under pretence of meeting his wish, was, therefore, to calumniate Louis XVI., and to declare him guilty of uttering solemnly a mean and deliberate falsehood. This mayor had also taken, in the assembly, the civic oath, and yet he suffered the white cockades to form his guard, and, day after day, to assault the protestants. The shops were frequently shut, and all who would not cry, *vive la croix*, were pursued, attacked, and wounded. On one occasion, M. Vidal witnessed these outrages from a balcony, and on another, a soldier was killed by Matthieu Froment, brother to the receiver to the chapter.

The king’s *procureur*, a catholic, presented a bill to the *lieutenant criminel* on the 10th of May on these outrages, and immediately began proceedings. Five days after, M. Vidal, *procureur* of the commune, presented a complaint to the king’s *procureur*, who had thus anticipated the municipality five days.

According to the deposition of the secretary, a catholic, M. Vidal had endeavoured to inculcate the soldiers of the garrison for having been corrupted with the money of the protestants; and, with the Abbé Belmont, had displayed an indecent fury against the Calvinists, and the national assembly, which greatly contributed to produce the struggles fatal to so many citizens.

The brother Modeste continued his distri-

bution of libels; and numbers of witnesses proved, that Father Alexander, and Father Saturnin, of the Capuchins, publicly denounced those as impious men or bad catholics, who approved the decrees of the constituent assembly. The Abbé Tempié, clothed with all the authority and sanctity of his official character, ascended the steps of the altar in the chapel of the holy sacrament in the cathedral, and told the assembled multitude, that the epistle for the day admonished the catholics to support their faith to the last drop of their blood. He was a member of the council of the commune.

Neither dismayed nor disheartened by the general indignation which their document of 20th April had excited, they met again, on the first of June, in the church of the Jacobins, to confirm their former proceedings; and increased bitterness was displayed on the occasion. The month commenced under fatal auspices, and their manœuvres produced, at least in that part of France, the horrors of a civil war.

The choice of the administrators of the public affairs, both for the department and the districts, was now to take place, and the municipality planned, that these new functions, as well as all others, might be engrossed by the catholics.\* They were for a moment in a difficulty about their friend Froment and his brother-in-law, Folacher. They did not either pay any contributions, or

\* By the new constitution all the civil agents were to be elected by the people.

not enough to qualify them to be electors. Less scrupulous about the means than determined on the end, they did not even consult appearances, but, by some irregular proceedings, which it is unnecessary to detail, they obtained a certain qualification; they became eligible, and were of course elected. An attempt was then made to hold the electoral assembly in the church of the Dominicans, one of the towers of which communicated with Froment's house; but the king's commissioners saw the snare, and, insisting on another place, the first meeting was held in the great hall of the palace.

On the 5th they proceeded to the choice of a president, and M. Vigier Sarrazin had 345 votes out of 500. Disconcerted by the choice of a man distinguished for his constitutional principles, and perceiving the force of the majority with which they had to contend, they determined to subdue or to disperse the assembly. All the avenues of the palace were filled with armed men wearing red tufts, and the cabarets with orators, who inflamed the populace by hypocritical complaints of the dangers of the catholic religion. The king's commissioners demanded in vain the protection of the regular troops, but, at length, the municipality were obliged so far to yield, as to forbid every person, not on service, to appear armed. The respectable and virtuous citizens only obeyed. The captains of the red tufts, recruited their companies from the lowest and most immoral

of the people, and armed men, bought at all prices.

Froment spent on his company, sums quite disproportionate to his property. He purchased swords, muskets, pouches ; and when blue and white were the uniform of the legions, he had the affectation to dress his men in green, faced with red. After these preparations, they were more ingenuous in their attacks.

“ Detachments occupied the public places,  
“ and attracted crowds, who became outrageous  
“ and terrific. They formed a procession on  
“ asses, through the city, with drums beating  
“ and swords drawn, on purpose to insult the  
“ dragoons. The municipality interfered, but  
“ it was only to pamper and gratify the dis-  
“ turbors of the peace and the violators of the  
“ laws.

“ They limited the duty of the dragoons to  
“ a guard of twenty men at the bishop’s palace ;  
“ and even these were not to act, but on the  
“ special requisition of the municipal officers.  
“ The dragoons obeyed, though convinced of  
“ the design, and there remained therefore no  
“ pretext for disorder. But the electoral assem-  
“ bly was to finish its labours in a few days, and  
“ the treasonable signal for a general movement  
“ could not be delayed.

“ In fact, on Sunday morning, they assembled  
“ in arms, and under pretence of going to mass,  
“ paraded the streets to the church of the Do-  
“ minicans, where they held a most inflammatory

“ meeting. They then attacked the dragoons  
“ and the unarmed citizens; and terrible scenes  
“ of confusion, dismay, and bloodshed, filled up  
“ the hours of the day.

“ Their fixed stations were, the approaches to  
“ the Carmes; the house of Froment, and a  
“ commanding part of the ramparts. The  
“ chiefs took possession also of the towers of  
“ the Dominicans, which communicated on one  
“ side with Froment’s house, and on the other  
“ side commanded the door of the church, in  
“ which the municipality wished the electoral  
“ assembly to hold its sittings. It was here that  
“ Froment and his party established themselves  
“ with more than 300 men, to direct their fire,  
“ and, as they said, to maintain their ground,  
“ till the promised reinforcements should arrive.

“ The choice of a position calculated for  
“ attack, without exposure to danger; the rapi-  
“ dity with which double lines of red tufts occu-  
“ pied all the allotted avenues; and the care  
“ which they took to place great strength near  
“ the barracks, where was a park of artillery,  
“ and where alone the citizens could procure  
“ ammunition, proved that the whole arrange-  
“ ment had been well digested. Already several  
“ victims had fallen under their strokes; the  
“ friends of order were not armed, and the re-  
“ giment of Guyenne waited, in the barracks,  
“ the orders of the municipality. The electors  
“ urged on the municipality the necessity of  
“ proclaiming martial law, and pressed the re-

“luctant Abbé Belmont to carry the red flag;  
“The Catholics fired from the towers and ram-  
“parts, scattered the feeble escort, seized the  
“red flag, and carried it in triumph into Fro-  
“ment’s house.

“Nismes then presented a frightful spec-  
“tacle ; armed men ran through the city, fired  
“from the corners of the streets, and attacked  
“with swords and forks all they met. A man  
“named Astuc was wounded, and passing near  
“the aqueduct as he fled, they threw him in,  
“beat him under the water with stones, fired,  
“and killed him. Baudon fell under the re-  
“peated strokes of bayonets and sabres ; they  
“threw his body also into the aqueduct,  
“where lay already the carcase of Astuc.  
“The monsters carried his helmet, sabre, and  
“musket (he was a dragoon) to Froment, and  
“presented them as trophies. Bouchor, a young  
“man only seventeen, was shot as he was look-  
“ing out of his window. Three electors were  
“wounded ; one dangerously. The royal com-  
“missioners, and some of the municipality, de-  
“termined that martial law should again be  
“declared ; M. Griolet accompanied the muni-  
“cipal officers, and one of the beadles of the city  
“carried the flag. The trumpet sounded : the  
“escort took the same route, met the same fate,  
“and were obliged to fly for their lives. M. Fer-  
“rand alone remained, and he was conveyed by  
“force into Froment’s house by a little private  
“door.



“ The beadle was seized, his flag was taken :  
“ and he deposed, that one of the rebels, pointing to the body of a dead man in the ditch,  
“ said to him, ‘ See how he drinks.’ M. Griolet  
“ and M. Pontier took refuge in the barracks  
“ and demanded assistance of the regiment of  
“ Guienne. Six companies were ordered to  
“ march ; but the fire from the ramparts ceasing  
“ at the sound of the drums of the garrison, it  
“ was hoped, that tranquillity would be restored. The military were reluctant to commence a regular attack, and all retired without acting. Thus ended the 13th of June.”

The chiefs of the conspiracy ought now, at all events, to have abandoned their desperate project. Out of eighteen companies of the legion, only three could be induced to plunge themselves into ruin, and the department into misery ; without the experience of all the calamity which followed, that day might have taught them, that even in the south, with a municipality to their mind, gold at command, and fanaticism enkindled, they could only entail defeat upon themselves, and death on their instruments. Froment and his brother Pierre, Folacher his brother-in-law, and Descombiés, still, however, maintained their hostile dispositions, and supported themselves with the illusion of help from M. Bouzol, second commandant of the province, whom Froment, in his work, already quoted, charges with not acting conformably with the dispatches of the princes.

In fact, they sent in the night, letters to M. Bouzol, demanding succour, and promising the authorisation of the municipality; and they also sent into the catholic communes open letters, containing the most inflammatory falsehoods, to bring a furious multitude to aid their intended massacre. The letter to M. Bouzol, intercepted at Uchaud, and brought to the electoral assembly, produced the following minute. "The assembly has learned with indignation, that Froment, and his colleagues, destitute of all character, have cast on the victims of their aggressions, and the aggressions of their accomplices, the guilt of an insurrection, of which they alone are the authors; and, on such a base representation, have dared to require the assistance of the dragoons garrisoned at Sommières."

M. Massadon, an elector, being wounded, only escaped death by repeatedly declaring he was a catholic. M. Vial, an elector of Salle, was interrogated whether he was a black throat, (protestant,) and before he could answer, was so severely stoned, that he only preserved his life by a precipitate flight. M. Pusch, also elector of Salle, received four sabre wounds, and was taken home dreadfully mangled. It was evident that not a moment was to be lost. At four in the morning of the 14th, the national guard (légion Nimoise) found it indispensable to muster on the esplanade, and about seven, they were joined by those of the environs. "These forces, (says

the report of the electoral assembly,) full of the ardour of vengeance, and crying, *vive le nation, vive le roi*, presented a spectacle, at once consoling and alarming." From day-break, a red flag was placed at one of the windows of the Hôtel de Ville.

The citizens, who fled from the terror that reigned in Nismes, were arrested by the catholics who infested the roads, and were obliged to give proof of their catholicism before their lives were granted. They searched for M. Rah on purpose to kill him; fortunately he was not to be found, but his house was plundered. Hugues, clerk to the house of Messrs. Maigre, was put to death. M. and Madame Vogue were at their country house; they broke open the doors, massacred them both in their apartment, and destroyed their dwelling. M. Blacher, seventy years of age, recognised as a protestant, was cut to pieces with a sickle. The young Pyerre, aged fifteen, carrying some food to his brother, passed a troop posted at the Port des Isles; a voice demanded, "Are you catholic or protestant?" The lad replied, "I am a protestant;" immediately a man, or rather a monster, fired at the innocent boy; he fell and expired. One of the murderer's companions said, "You might as well kill a lamb." "I have sworn," replied he, "to kill four protestants for my share, and this will count for one." M. Maigre, venerable for his age, (eighty-two years,) as the head of a most respectable family, and as the benefactor

of the poor, fled from his house, taking in his carriage, his son, his son's wife, two of their children, and two servants. The father and son were massacred, under circumstances peculiarly atrocious. Madame Maigre and her daughter escaped, during the commission of these crimes, to an inn; the villains pursued them, swearing that they would cut them in pieces. The inn-keeper assured them, on his oath, that they had fled: the bloodhounds set off in search of them, and by this means only they were saved.

There were, however, many from the communes which they had not been able to deceive, who arrived successively at Nismes, and several of them, even conducted by their *curés*. MM. Sollier, prior of Cognac; Brémond, *curé* of Anduze; Boulet, *curé* of Peuchredon; Chabert, *curé* of Boissière; and the *curé* of Castelnau, gave, on this occasion, noble proofs of liberality and patriotism. The numbers of Froment's troops continued hourly to increase, and early in the morning several lives had been lost. The national guard were still on the esplanade, in front of the abbey of the capuchins, the monastery which has been mentioned, as the manufactory and warehouse of the atrocious libels with which the country had been deluged. M. St. Pons, commandant of the troops, thought it his duty to visit this monastery, as it might prove a most advantageous position for the enemy: the visit was made regularly, and peaceably, and neither armed men nor ammunition were discovered.

He examined from similar motives, the Roman amphitheatre. On a sudden, shots were fired from the monastery, and M. Massip, municipal officer of St. Cosme, was killed. The consternation was extreme, and for a moment the esplanade was deserted ; but surprise soon gave place to fury ; the treacherous murder inspired vengeance ; the convent was attacked, the door broken open with axes, and five capuchins, all who had not escaped or concealed themselves, and three lay-brothers, were sacrificed. The convent was demolished ; the furniture was destroyed ; the library was ransacked ; the drawers of the vestry were opened, and one of the censers was stolen. The granary and the cloth manufactory were untouched ; and as for the church, it was so perfectly respected, that not the least damage was done, or disorder committed. The *curé* of St. Castor attested, that it was not in the smallest degree profaned. A censer was taken from the sacristy by some one who followed the crowd, but it was retaken by themselves, placed in the hands of the criminal recorder, and the thief was given up to the rigour of the laws.

That the shots came from the convents, is a fact established by numerous and impartial witnesses ; that M. Froment did not know of the capture of his dispatches, and expected the armed force from M. Bouzol, is also in evidence ; that the capuchins were particularly obnoxious, has also been proved ; that it was part of the

plan to goad to excesses, on purpose to justify massacre, is notorious ; it is, therefore, most probable, that the firing was instigated on purpose to produce some violence on the part of the patriots ; and it is certain that the feelings of the national guards were not at all religious, or fanatical, as they left the church, which would otherwise have been the first object of their attack, untouched. The national guards were evidently, either catholics who held sacred the insignia of their own religion, or protestants who respected the professions of their catholic fellow-citizens.

All was still activity at the centre of Froment's operations. A constant fire was kept up from the ramparts. Communications were established with the tower of the dominicans. Thirty men demanded entrance to that monastery. It was in vain that the brethren represented, that their consent would cause them to be murdered. In spite of their remonstrances, the door was opened. Froment fixed his men : " In this position," said he, " you may kill 400." Victims fell on both sides ; and at length M. Aubry, captain of artillery, proposed to storm their entrenchment. Six pieces of artillery from the barracks were placed in battery, under the fire of the catholics ; and the besieged were obliged to take refuge in the house of Froment. With the honourable design of saving the lives of the innocent and the guilty, commissioners from the electoral assembly, preceded by a white flag

and the city trumpeter, summoned Froment, &c. to parley. They required, that they should give up their arms, and the chiefs, whom they promised to place, as hostages, under the safeguard of the law. The rebels refused the terms, and had the temerity to require the commissioners to come into their house. The commissioners rejected the proposition, and required the besieged to meet them in the street. They at length consented to surrender their arms at the palace, and themselves to the electoral assembly. The white flag was hoisted on the barracks, and all was preparing for carrying into effect the treaty, when, suddenly, the firing re-commenced from the ramparts, and in a moment all hope of reconciliation vanished. The artillery opened instantly a tremendous fire; the soldiers demanded the lives of the leaders; ladders were fixed; the troops invested Froment's house, and the towers were taken by assault. Pierre Froment fell first, and all the besieged who did not fly instantly perished. Nothing could arrest the deplorable ardour of the victors.

The shots which had put an end to the armistice, came from the convent of the Dominicans; it was believed that the rebels had taken refuge there; and it was entered. The apartments, the library, the cellars, all that was *profane* or secular, was destroyed; but this was the result of war, and not the effect of fanaticism. There, as at the Capuchins, the church was

respected : even the sacristy, and, in the interior of the house, a chest of engravings of devotional subjects, remained uninjured. The defeat was ruinous to the conspirators, and without glory even for those who conquered.

The morning dawned on events still more dreadful than those which had marked the hours of the preceding day. It is not possible to relate the details of all that was perpetrated by a vengeance terribly provoked, and as long restrained. At an early hour, the electoral assembly, preceded by a white flag, went to the spot where the national guards were drawn up, exhorted them to be peaceable and temperate, and conjured them especially to abstain from shedding blood. Alas ! these exhortations were soon forgotten. The armed parties, which continued to arrive, in every direction, strangers, in fact, in the city, mixed with the guards, and, in the unavoidable confusion, indulged in great licentiousness. The houses of the Abbés Brayouze and Cabanel were completely stripped ; a retailer of wine, devoted to Froment, was killed in the court of the palace ; the municipal officer Laurent, and M. Vidal, *procureur* of the commune, hid themselves in an uninhabited house, near the amphitheatre. They were discovered. Who saved them ? — a protestant. Marc Antoine Ribot concealed their names, disguised M. Vidal by a change of dress, conducted them both to the electoral assembly, and placed them under the protection of the law. During the night they



made their escape. It is impossible for partiality itself to deny, that all the most respectable persons of the patriotic party exerted themselves to the utmost to check the disorder, and that the most culpable of the catholics were indebted for their safety to the humane, and even generous principles of the injured protestants.

Happily, the national guard of Montpellier arrived. M. de Serres, the commander, a knight of St. Louis, immediately placed his sword in the hand of the president of the electoral assembly, and would only receive it from him after taking the civic oath. The president returned the sword to M. de Serres, and said, "I return your sword, Sir; and while it is in your hands the signal of defence or attack, let it be also the signal of moderation; and let it arrest the violence and excess which revolt every humane and virtuous mind." A council of war was summoned; and of 15,000 men then in Nismes, only 2000 were retained, including the Légion Nimoise and 400 cavalry. The night was perfectly quiet; the principal conspirators, Froment, Folacher, &c. took themselves to flight; the electoral assembly issued a proclamation, denying most solemnly that "religion, or religious opinions, had *really* occasioned the troubles," and this wise measure stopped the march of a large body of troops. Thus terminated a dangerous insurrection, designed, under the mask of religion, to operate a civil war, but, in its result, fatal to those who confidently and wickedly

formed the plan, and calculated on its success. Even in the dreadful vengeance which sullied the triumph of those who had been marked out for destruction, and whose friends and relatives had been massacred, the protestants were not principally concerned : they had their share in these transactions, but they had no special authority, and acted not as protestants, but as citizens. The vanquished, it is true, were all of the same religion, were all catholics ; but it was precisely the reverse with the conquerors, for the protestants found among the catholics their best auxiliaries. The commissioners appointed by Louis XVI. and the national assembly, have left on record the following ample justification of the professors of the protestant faith : — “ In the history of the massacres of Nismes, you will perceive throughout, the traces of fanaticism and revolt. It was not till November, that is, till the decrees on the property of the clergy, that any disunion or agitation existed ; and from that moment, the people were inspired with alarm for the fate of the catholic religion, and with fury against the protestants ; and, under the veil of religious jealousy, the most wicked designs were concealed. After these were defeated, scores of libels were published, accusing the protestants with the excitement of tumult, and the intended massacre of the priests. It is, we are confident, unnecessary to answer such absurd and groundless charges. The protestants were the objects of party hatred, as soon as

a party was formed against the new order of things. From the epoch of the dissatisfaction of the clergy, they became the butt for a cloud of calumnious shafts, artfully thrown at *them*, to produce a counter-revolution in the south of France. It is absolutely false that the protestants were the aggressors; and it is as improbable as false that they should plan any hostile movements. In Nismes they are only a third of the population: what interest could they have in troubles? what had they to regret? what had they lost? Privileges, titles, wealth had not been taken from them, but they had gained every thing by the revolution, which commenced with others. They blest it; they had obtained civil rights; and, devoted to manufacture and commerce, they desired public tranquillity and a free government, which would promote their fortunes by favouring their industry. Such men have not premeditated the frightful crimes of which they have been accused, and which have been announced to all France as the fruit of a system long and deeply prepared." The king and the national assembly attested the truth of this report; and thus absolved, I need pursue no farther, on this charge, the vindication of the protestants.

## CHAP. IV.

THE DEFEATED CATHOLICS OF 1790, RENEW THE ATTACK IN 1814.—CHARGE THE PROTESTANTS WITH USURPATION AND OPPRESSION.—GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES AND DIVISIONS OF THE GARD.—PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC POPULATION.—DEPARTMENTAL ADMINISTRATION.—ORGANISATION AND NUMBER OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—THE DIVISION OF POLITICAL POWER.—DEPUTIES TO THE LEGISLATURE.—THE TRIBUNALS.—MUNICIPALITY.—PREFECTURE.—LUCRATIVE OFFICES.—CONCLUSION.

THE power of the *soi-disant* catholics was at an end; but the wrecks of the defeated party, scattered over the face of Europe, still maintained a correspondence in the south of France, and embraced every opportunity which the fluctuation of factions, the loss of battles, or internal disorders presented for the re-union of their force, and the renewal of their attacks. The strong government of Buonaparte destroyed all their hopes, and many of them, despairing of advantage from the Bourbon cause, became the most zealous servants, and the most fulsome flatterers of Napoleon le Grand.

The unexpected return of the ancient dynasty rallied them all once more round the old banners; Bonapartists and Emigrés embraced each

other before the altar; rekindled the brands of fanaticism, and raised again their terrific war-whoop. To justify a conduct so wicked and so unnecessary, they boldly asserted, that from 1790 to 1814, the protestants had engrossed all public offices and authority; that under Robespierre and Buonaparte, they had oppressed the catholics, and that the restoration was a proper occasion for the catholics to resume their natural influence, and emancipate themselves for ever from the yoke of their calvinistic oppressors.

This justification forms the *third* charge against the protestants, which I undertook to investigate and refute. In discharging this duty I have collected and verified lists of the persons who have filled official stations in the department, from the commencement of the revolution; and have prepared from them a compendious statement of different branches of the public service, and arranged some leading facts, in order to demonstrate, that impudence never masked with the confidence of truth, a more profligate and abominable calumny. But first of all, I shall present some general explanations which may assist the enquiries of those who desire to be correctly informed.

Before the extraordinary decree of the constituent assembly, which destroyed all the old geographical and political divisions of France, and suppressed at once provinces, sénéchaussees, bailiwicks, and dioceses; the district

of the Gard formed an important part of the province of Languedoc. The same authority that raised it into a distinct, and independent department, traced its limits, and regulated its administration. It is bounded on the north by the Cevennes, on the east by the Rhone, on the south by the Mediterranean, and on the west by the Vidourle, and the department of the Herault.

The whole extent of the department is divided into four arrondissemens or circles; the arrondissemens into thirty-six cantons, and these again into several hundred communes.

The 1st arrondissement, that of ALAIS, contains the cantons of Barjac, St. Ambroix, Vezénobre, Ledignan, Anduze, St. Jean, Alais, Genolhac.

The 2d arrondissement, UZES, comprises the cantons of Pont St. Esprit, Bagnols, Roque-maure, Villeneuve, Remoulins, St. Chaptes, Uzes, Lussan.

The 3d arrondissement, NISMES, includes the cantons of Marguerittes, Aramon, Beaucaire, St. Gilles, Aigues Mortes, Vauvert, Sommieres, St. Mamet, and Nismes.

The 4th arrondissement, LE VIGAN, comprehends the cantons of St. André de Vallborgne, la Salle, Sauve, Quissac, St. Hypolite, Sumene, le Vigan, Alzon, Treves, Valleraugue.

The two religious parties which form a population of 322,000, are nearly equal in political importance; for while the protestants compose

only a third of the inhabitants, they contribute about one half of the revenues, and by their commercial and agricultural industry, employ not only a large portion of the people of their own department, but of those of the Ardèche and the Lozère.

The south and the east, extending from Pont St. Esprit to Aigues Mortes, along the borders of the Rhone, and the shores of the sea, are inhabited almost entirely by catholics. Aigues Mortes, Beaucaire, and the neighbouring villages, are filled with ignorant and fanatical peasants, and furnished the principal agents in the persecutions of 1814 and 1815.

The north and the west, comprising the mountainous communes of the Cevennes, and the towns and villages on the rivers Vidourle and Gardon, called the Vaunage and the Gardonenque, are in a great degree protestant.

The Cevennols are robust and hardy; labouring on the mountains, and among forests of chesnuts, on the fruit of which they subsist almost entirely, many of them have scarcely ever known the luxury of bread. While they partake of the ardour and irascibility by which the southerners are characterised, they are more peaceable, urbane, and enlightened; and, though invincible by force, they are remarkably accessible to kindness and persuasion. Instructed by their schoolmasters and their pastors, regular in their attendance on public worship, and familiar with the history of the wars of their ce-

lebrated ancestors, though not much informed of political parties and affairs, they take the most lively interest in the happiness of their brethren ; and an alarm sounded among their rocks, would bring them down like mountain torrents to overwhelm the intolerant enemies of their faith.

Nismes stands on the line which separates the catholic and protestant districts, and contains the two denominations in about the same proportion as the department of which it is the capital. Of more than 40,000 inhabitants, sixteen only are protestants ; but among them are the principal merchants and manufacturers, and their property and industry give their denomination an influence, which counterbalances the inferiority of their numbers. The parties are there immediately in presence of each other, and in a situation to be supported by their respective communions, placed on either side of the city. Before the restoration, the distinction of religion was observed, without jealousy among the rich, or animosity among the poor. The catholic women suspended the symbolic cross, as the ornament of their necks, the protestant women a ball, or the figure of a dove ; but these avowed distinctions were amicably tolerated, and the professions they indicated, treated with mutual respect.

The constituent assembly revolutionised the administrative as well as the geographical system, and substituted for intendants, parliaments,



prévôts, commandants, &c., municipalities, councils, and judges chosen by the people, and national guards composed of responsible citizens.

Extraordinary tribunals, and special administrators, were imposed by the different factions who successively maintained a short and precarious ascendancy. At length Buonaparte introduced a new system, destroyed the popular influence, and established the order which still exists, without any change, but that of royal for imperial.

The prefect is the supreme authority in the department, is nominated by the emperor or king, and assisted by a council nominated also by the crown. Nismes is the seat of the prefecture. The other arrondissemens are superintended by sub-prefects. They hold their appointments directly from the king, but correspond with the government through the prefects to whom they are subordinate. Every canton is the residence of a *Juge de paix*, appointed by the crown, but communicating with the *Procureur du Roi*, the superior legal authority. The communes are governed by a mayor and adjuncts, or deputies, appointed by the crown in all large towns, and by the prefect in the small towns and villages, and a municipal council chosen by the prefect from among the inhabitants, who pay the greatest part of the public contributions. All the judges, both in the civil and criminal courts of *police correctionnelle*, *première instance*,

*assis*, and the *cours royale*, or court of appeal, are nominated by the crown, — the juries, by the prefect.

It is easy to perceive, that the will and the influence of the government, could alone raise the citizens, under such a system, to public stations; and it remains to be seen how far that influence favoured the domination of the protestants of the department of the Gard.

The organization of the reformed churches, decreed by Buonaparte, bore as much relation to the local divisions and civil institutions as the nature of the case would admit.

A consistorial church is an *arrondissement*, or circle, comprehending a protestant population of 6000 souls in the same department: 5000 on the confines of one department, and 1000 on the confines of the adjoining department, cannot unite in one consistorial church, but must both remain without the supposed benefit of the provision of the state. A consistory, chosen from among the heads of families paying most taxes, regulates the affairs of the church. The sub-prefect superintends the election and all extraordinary meetings of the consistory; and as the pastors are appointed (on the nomination of the consistory), and paid by the government, and are public functionaries, all disputes between the minister and his church must be referred to the council of state, and subject to its decision.

An *arrondissement* of five consistorial churches forms a synod, composed of a pastor and a deputy

from each church. It cannot assemble without the permission of the government; sit longer than six days, or, without the presence of a prefect or sub-prefect; discuss any question which the government does not approve; nor act on any of its own decisions, till they are ratified by the state. A synod on this plan has never been assembled; so that the churches are entirely dependent on the government, and isolated and independent of each other. The pastors, considered as public agents, are expected to take a certain rank, in all public marks of homage to the prince, with the consistories; to participate in the expressions of the various political corps; and to celebrate, by religious services, certain days and events signalized by the government. The protestants are, therefore, compelled to assume a sort of political appearance, which, on some occasions, may compromise their religious character, and favour the charge of secularity and ambition, though they only observe a formality, which they dare not neglect.

Without stopping to point out the utter incompatibility of this scheme with true religion, with the prosperity of the protestant churches, and the comfort and independence of the whole body, it may be sufficient to remark, that though it gave them legal and pecuniary support, it was as far as possible from placing them in a situation to exercise any degree of domination, by a union of strength, or by combined and sectarian efforts; while, under a bigotted catho-

lic administration, it provided the means of the most absolute oppression. Seventeen consistorial churches, formed under this system of compression and subserviency, and extending over 260 communes, comprehend almost the whole protestant population of the department of the Gard.\* Did that population in all or in any of the administrations obtain or abuse the supreme authority?

The *first* testimony I produce, is from the return of representatives to the national legislature. The revolution commenced with the meeting of the states-general; but it has been already stated, that in the deputation from Languedoc, (the most protestant province in France,) consisting of *sixteen* persons, there were only *three* protestants. The next important epoch in the

\* The arrondissemens contain the following churches.

1. ALAIS.

St. Ambroix	36 communes.
Alais	22
Vezenobre	26
St. Jean	3
Anduze	8

3. NISMES.

Nismes	3 communes.
Vauvert	7
Aiguevives	10
Calvisson	11
Sommieres	21

2. UZES.

Uzes	26 communes.
St. Chaptes	17

4. LE VIGAN.

Vigan	13 communes.
Valleraugue	12
St. Hypolite	9
La Salle	12
Sauve	24

Many of the churches contain more than 6000; that of Nismes reckons nearly three times that number. Some of the churches fall below the legal calculation.

progress of the revolution, was the meeting of the national convention. The electors of the Gard assembled at Beaucaire in August 1792; and their choice sent to the convention, *seven* catholics and only *one* protestant. M. Rabaut Pomièr, son of Paul Rabaut, was that protestant. His brother, St. Etienne, was guillotined; he was imprisoned by the Jacobins; subsequently, he was many years one of the pastors of the reformed church of Paris, where he now resides, universally respected and esteemed.

In 1795 another stage of the revolution was accomplished, and under the directorial government, the deputies to the legislature were composed of *five* catholics and *three* protestants.

The erection of the consulate of Buonaparte occurred in 1799, and issued in the imperial dynasty. During the whole period of his reign, till the abdication of Fontainbleau, there were *three* catholics and *two* protestants returned to the legislative body from the department of the Gard.

It results, then, from this analysis, that of those who were selected to frame the laws, *twenty-eight* were taken from the catholics, and only *nine* from the protestants; that the preponderance was, therefore, greatly on the side of the calumniators; and that the catholic deputies were most numerous at the most criminal period of the revolution, — during the crimes and cruelties of the national convention.

The *second* testimony, I have drawn from the general state of the local tribunals. In the se-

veral courts, both civil and criminal, which existed from 1789 to 1799, the majority of catholics was very great. This was the natural consequence of the intolerance which prevailed before the revolution ; protestants were not allowed to enter public offices, and the lawyers and advocates were almost entirely catholics.

The revolutionary tribunal of 1793 was formed entirely of *six* catholics, among whom was the notorious Giret, a catholic priest of Uzes.

After the fall of the directory, and the elevation of Buonaparte to the consulship in 1800, a new judicial system was promulgated : the result is worthy of observation.

A tribunal of appeal was erected, and contained *thirteen* catholics and *one* protestant, M. Gide, who had been condemned in 1793 as a royalist, and placed on the list of emigrants. A criminal tribunal was formed of *five* catholics and *two* protestants, both persecuted as royalists in 1793. A civil tribunal was also established, consisting of *five* catholics and *five* protestants, one of whom, M. Ganjon, was proscribed in 1793. In 1811 the Emperor Napoleon re-arranged the system. The court of appeal was then made the Imperial court, and among between *thirty* and *forty* members, there was only *one* protestant. The tribunals of *première instance* were formed at the same time. At Nismes eight of the members were catholics and three were protestants : at Alais, eight catholics and one protestant : at Le Vigan, seven catholics and two protestants :

at Uzes eight catholics and one protestant. This review will demonstrate, that as the catholics were the framers of the laws, the protestants had not the power to prevent or pervert their application. Such as the laws were, the catholics who had great majorities in the ordinary and extraordinary courts, are responsible for their execution.

The *third* kind of evidence, has been extracted from the history of the municipal authority of Nismes.

The first election of the municipality took place in 1790 ; and in recording the transactions of that period, I have described its composition, and the intrigues by which *seventeen* catholics, and only *one* protestant were chosen. This body was dissolved by Louis XVI. and the national assembly, for its unworthy conduct ; and on a new election in 1791, *eleven* catholics, and *seven* protestants were nominated.

Another municipality was formed in 1793, in about the same proportions ; it existed but a few months, and was replaced by one nominated by the representatives of the convention, Rouviere and Paujou, and composed of jacobins and sansculottes. The patriots of 1789, of both religions, were excluded ; but among the new officers, the mayor and nine others, most of them taken from the lowest of the people, were catholics. During the reign of the directory, there were several alterations entirely irrespective of religious distinctions ; though the catholics had uniformly the majority. At the period of the con-

sulate, the municipality received a new form, and till the restoration, two mayors, and two assistants, and one secretary were protestants, and four assistants and one secretary were catholics. *Thirty* persons were members of the municipal council, of whom only *ten* were protestants.

The influence of the municipal authority in the city, was principally in the hands of the catholics ; and the effect of its example, as chief place of the department, could not be favourable to the creation of protestant municipalities in the inferior towns.

The *fourth* kind of proof, is adduced from the prefecture of the department. The prefecture was an institution of the consulship, and continued under the empire. The prefect, the immediate creature of the government, and the creator of the subaltern agents, mayors, and adjuncts, is the highest authority in the departments. Three prefects were appointed in the Gard, by the Consul Buonaparte and the Emperor Napoleon ; all were catholics. The members of the council of the prefects, during this period, were in the proportion of *five* catholics to *two* protestants. The office of secretary was filled first by a catholic, and afterwards by a protestant. In this important branch of public administration, as in every other, under the emperor, as under the jacobins, the catholics had to boast of dignity and pre-eminence.

And *fifthly*, and finally, testimony is to be found in the records of offices essentially and



peculiarly lucrative. From the commencement of the revolution, to the return of the Bourbons, the protestants have not participated in the emoluments of the most profitable posts, either in the excise, the registries, or the domains. The offices of receiver-general, paymaster-general, director of domains, director of the post-office, director of the *droits réunis*, keeper of woods and waters, keeper of mortgage deeds, director of the dépôt of mendicity, receiver of registration and national domain fees, receiver of fees for the registration of judicial acts, and collector of taxes, were enjoyed exclusively by the catholics under all the different administrations. These specimens complete the chain of evidence, and leave the protestants perfectly free from engrossing the public offices and authority. From accidental causes, and especially being by far the most wealthy and instructed, it might have happened that they had occupied more places than others; or they might have been selected by the different governments, as their most suitable agents, without being criminal, either in the acceptance, or the exercise of power. But the fact did not exist; and it is unnecessary now to plead, that they might have been, or that they were innocent, because it was impossible they could be guilty. They could not abuse what they never possessed; they could not appropriate what they never obtained; the absolute impossibility of their criminality, only renders more absurd the accu-

sation of their persecutors ; and the more absurd the charge, the more atrocious the calumny. On the return of the Bourbons to France, from which they had been absent more than twenty years, they found the protestants maintaining, with equity and honour, those social and political relations, to which they had been admitted since the commencement of the revolution.

## CHAP. V.

ARRIVAL OF LOUIS XVIII. AT PARIS, IN 1814.—ACKNOWLEDGED AT NISMES, AND THROUGHOUT THE DEPARTMENT.—CONDUCT OF THE PROTESTANTS.—PASTORAL LETTER.—SERMON OF M. JULLERAT.—DEPUTATIONS TO THE KING FROM THE CONSISTORIAL CHURCHES AND MUNICIPALITY.—FROMENT AGAIN AT NISMES.—REVIVAL OF RELIGIOUS DISSENSION.—THE MAYOR INSULTED, AND RESIGNS.—INFLAMMATORY INSCRIPTIONS.—PREFECT INSULTED.—ADDRESSES OF THE CATHOLICS IN FAVOUR OF THE PRINCIPLES OF 1790, THE RESTORATION OF BISHOPRICS, AND THE RECALL OF THE JESUITS.—VOW OF A SILVER CHILD TO BE PRESENTED TO THE DUCHESS D'ANGOULÊME.—SPIRIT OF THE PRIESTS.—ATTACKS ON THE PROTESTANTS.—ARRIVAL OF AN EXTRAORDINARY ROYAL COMMISSIONER.—CATHOLICS REPRESSED.—FÊTE DIEU.—CONCESSIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS.—CONDUCT OF THE NEW PROTESTANT MAYOR.—COMTE D'ARTOIS AT NISMES.—RENEWAL OF OUTRAGES AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.—THE 21ST OF JANUARY.—EFFIGIES OF PROTESTANT MINISTERS.—PREVALENCE OF INTOLERANCE.—ALARM OF THE PROTESTANTS.—RETURN OF NAPOLEON.

THE arrival of the king at Paris was known at Nismes on the 13th of April, 1814. In a quarter of an hour the white cockade was seen in every direction, the white flag floated on all the public buildings, on the splendid monuments of antiquity, and even on the tour Magne, beyond the city walls. “Our district (say the deputies

of the royal court of Nismes, in their address to Louis the XVIII.) presented the most delightful spectacle. By a sudden and spontaneous movement, all labour was suspended; the people, in immense crowds, flocked to the temples and the public places; they congratulated each other; they embraced, with tears streaming from their eyes: they were only Frenchmen; there was no party spirit, no hostile feeling."

The protestants, who had especially suffered in their commerce from the national calamities, united in the general joy. The consistory of Nismes was among the first to send its adhesion to the senate and the legislative body. Fêtes, public rejoicings, triumphal arches, and every civil demonstration of delight, testified the disposition of the protestants of the Gard, and the feelings of the inhabitants of Vauvert, Anduze, St. Hyppolite, Saint Jean, Alais, Vigan, Arpaillargues, Ners, Sommieres, Calvisson, Sauve, Quissac, Salle, Ledignan, Boucairan, Mialet, Sumene, Saumane, Montaren, Uzes, St. Chaptes, St. Mamet, Gajan, Aiguevives, Milhaud, Langlade, Clarensac, Congenies, St. Cosme, Dions, Rouvière, Sagries, Sanilhac and Montpezat.

These peaceful villages and rural communes became afterwards the scenes of the most dreadful outrages; but if the pretended catholic royalists had sincerely desired the restoration for its own sake, they could not but have been satisfied and assured of the stability of the Bourbons, by these universal acclamations. It

is not my design to examine the quality or the extent of that loyalty which characterised the addresses and public proceedings of a considerable proportion of France at this period. Subsequent events have proved that it was not immutable ; but whatever was its value, the protestants possessed it equally with other Frenchmen ; for they had as much reason as other classes of society to anticipate advantage from the change that had surprised, and, (as it was said) emancipated Europe.

They hoped that Louis XVIII. instructed in the school of misfortune, had obtained wisdom by experience. They knew that he had passed many years of his exile amongst protestants ; had been able to observe the social influence of their religious principles, and had been indebted to them, not only for his last asylum, but for his restoration to the throne of his ancestors. He had promised that protestants should share his affections equally with catholics ; that the evils of the revolution should be consigned to oblivion ; that the good it had produced should be consolidated ; that liberal institutions should be preserved ; and that liberty of worship and equality of rights should be the fundamental laws of his government. The ravages of invasion were arrested, and the conscription was no more. They flattered themselves that peace would give activity to commerce, and reward to industry. They consecrated their intelligence and property to the general prosperity ; and they continued under this revolution, what

they had always been in France, peaceable and useful citizens.

The pastors appointed religious services appropriate to the extraordinary events. A pastoral letter was published by the ministers of Nismes, to direct the minds of their people to a moral improvement of the dispensations of providence. "Let not," said they, "the sweet sentiments which circumstances so delightful, and felicity so unexpected have inspired, we conjure you, dear brethren, be disturbed by fears for the future, and by the distressing suspicion that your religious principles may deprive you of the protection of the prince. Have not the protestants the strongest claims on his esteem and affection? He knows that the invariable rule of our faith and of our conduct is that of the gospel of Christ, which commands us to render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to live in charity with all. He knows that kings have never had sincerer friends, more faithful subjects, more devoted servants, than those of our communion. Is it not a protestant nation which afforded an asylum to our monarch, and which has contributed most powerfully to replace him on the throne? Yes, he knows the loyalty and purity of our sentiments; and he comes among us with those liberal ideas with which he has become familiar, in a long residence, far from the seductive splendour of courts, and among an enlightened and magnanimous people. — 'The king (said his royal highness, lieutenant-

general of the kingdom, to the consistory of Paris,) the king delights to embrace with his affections Frenchmen of every religious persuasion.' 'No, (said the Duke d'Angoulême, to the consistory and the faculty of theology at Montauban,) he knows that the protestants have always loved our family, and he will cherish for them the affection of Henry IV. and of Louis XVI.' What motives have we then, dear brethren, to praise and bless the Supreme Arbiter of Destinies! Under these circumstances, a solemn service, designed to celebrate the great events by which the Lord has displayed his infinite goodness towards us, appears to us highly suitable. It will take place on the next sabbath, in our great temple. Come, and sing there the hymn \* of gratitude to our Divine

\* *Hymne chanté dans le temple de l'Église réformée de Nismes, le 15 Mai 1814.*

*Chœur Général.*

Toi sur qui notre espoir dans tous les temps se fonde,  
O notre divin père! auteur de ce beau jour;  
C'est toi qui rends la paix au monde,  
Et les Bourbons à notre amour.

*Chœur d'Hommes.*

Les Rois, pour renverser l'impie,  
Ont uni leurs nobles efforts.  
Pour délivrer notre chère patrie,  
Ton esprit, Dieu clément, les guida vers nos bords.

Deliverer. Come, and pray to the Lord for our country, for the royal family, and especially for

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*Chœur de Femmes.*

On n'entend plus le bruit affreux des armes.  
Dieu de bonté, ta main sèche nos larmes.  
La mère encore embrassera son fils,  
La sœur son frère, et l'épouse en alarmes,  
Pour les jours d'un époux n'aura plus de soucis.

*Chœur Général.*

Toi sur qui notre espoir, etc.

*Chœur d'Hommes.*

Accorde au Roi, Dieu tutélaire,  
L'amour de ta loi salutaire.  
Qu'il ne forme jamais que de sages desseins ;

*Chœur de Femmes.*

Que de tous ses sujets il daigne être le père,  
Et que son cœur soit dans tes mains.

*Chœur d'Hommes.*

Nous te prions, Seigneur, pour la paix de la France.

*Chœur de Femmes.*

Nous te prions, Seigneur, pour la paix de la France.

*Chœur d'Hommes.*

Nous te prions pour le bonheur du Roi.

*Chœur de Femmes.*

Nous te prions pour le bonheur du Roi.

*Chœur d'Hommes.*

Douce paix, heureuse abondance,  
Versez vos trésors sur la France.



our august monarch. Come, and fervently implore the Almighty, that our cherished sovereign may be continually distinguished by the piety of Lewis XI., the wisdom and the moderation of Louis XII., the generosity of Henry IV., and the kindness of Louis XVI.

(Signed) "O. DESMOND, President.

"VINCENT St. LAURENT, Secretary."

M. Juillerat, one of the pastors of Paris, on this occasion, founded his discourse on the words of the psalmist : " When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion," &c. " Yes, Christians! (said he, in the conclusion) we captives are delivered; our king, our princes are restored. May our love and our devotion contribute to

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*Chœur de Femmes.*

Douce paix, heureuse abondance,  
Versez vos trésors sur la France.

*Chœur d'Hommes.*

Ta main, Seigneur, nous les dispense :  
Que chacun en jouisse et les rapporte à toi.

*Chœur de Femmes.*

Ta main, Seigneur, nous les dispense :  
Que chacun en jouisse et les rapporte à toi.

*Chœur Général.*

Toi sur qui notre espoir dans tous les temps se fonde,  
O notre divin père ! auteur de ce beau jour ;  
C'est toi qui rends la paix au monde,  
Et les Bourbons à notre amour.

efface the remembrance of past misfortunes. Yes, peace is established in Europe. May the magnanimous sovereigns and the generous people who have so powerfully contributed to confirm it on the basis of wisdom, equity, and union, long enjoy with ourselves its blessings; and let us not forget our warriors, our chiefs, our magistrates, those especially who reside amongst us, as the organs of the laws, and the depositaries of power. Our happiness, my brethren, is not a dream; in a word, let us depose with the monarch, with France, and Europe, at the foot of the cross, all painful recollections, all sentiments of hatred and revenge, so contrary to the spirit of the gospel, and the divine example of our Saviour; and, profiting by the trials of the stormy season through which we have passed, join in the universal thanksgiving which sovereigns and people render to that God who has saved us." The sermon, than which nothing could be more loyal or conciliatory, was printed and circulated, as were those of many other pastors, dictated by the same sentiments.

The protestants of the Gard, the Lot, and Garonne, the Herault, and the Tarn and Garonne, sent deputations to the throne. M. Juillerat, at their head, addressed his majesty, and received the following reply: — "I accept the sentiments which you express for me; you may reckon on my protection."

The municipality was summoned to prepare

an address to the king. Messrs. O. Desmond, Trelis, Roland, Vincent St. Laurent, Roux, Amphoux, Meynier, Seyne, most of them members of the consistory, were present. An address was approved, which M. Castelnau, the mayor, a protestant, who was at the head of the deputation, presented. At the same time, let it be, however, observed, he resigned his office. It was impossible for any body of men to act with greater frankness, or to offer more satisfactory pledges of their sincerity. M. De Jouques, the prefect, during the horrors in 1815, acknowledges that they were weary of Napoleon, and hailed the change.

But there existed a party who did not intend to believe any assurances; who would have resisted and perverted any evidence; who wished the protestants to be as rebellious as they represented them; who calumniated them advisedly and systematically, and endeavoured, by every means, to irritate them to actions, which might give speciousness to the most absurd libels. Froment was again at Nismes, and, at the moment of the pacification of France, the demon of darkness and discord brooded over Lower Languedoc. The blindness and the fury of the sixteenth century succeeded, with extraordinary rapidity, the intelligence and the philanthropy of the nineteenth. A line of demarcation was, in an instant, traced between men of different religious opinions. Persons of rank decided that the measure of catholic fervour was to regu-

late the degree of worldly consideration. Their example operated on all classes of society. In commercial relations there was a change; the only cause was difference of religion; and even catholic domestics, who had served protestants with zeal and affection, began to perform their duties ungraciously and reluctantly.

The first hours of the restored government did not pass without libels, provocations, insults, and injuries being heaped on the men who gave the most lively demonstrations of loyalty, and whose only crime was their religion. They were not to unite with catholics. “Marianne (the name of the bell of the protestant temple,) will soon be down; the black-throats may go back *aux fringoulettes* (to the deserts,) and no longer have temples: the charter will last a month, and St. Bartholomew is not far off.” With such salutations they poisoned the cup of pleasure, of which the protestants desired to partake, and excited, especially among the poor, suspicions of the promises of the royal family. At the fêtes and spectacles which were given at the public expence, the absence of the protestants was charged on them as a proof of disloyalty, and their presence was the signal for disorder. In the midst of cries of “*Vive le Roi,*” were heard the discordant sounds, “*A bas le maire.*” M. Castelnau was a protestant. He appeared in public with the prefect, M. Roland, a catholic; and the moment in which they decreed to the latter a civic crown, they chose as most

proper to degrade and insult the former, a magistrate honoured for his able and equitable administration. His person was not respected : potatoes were thrown at him ; and the people declared he should resign his office. In fact, when he carried to Paris the loyal address of the municipality, in the spirit of conciliation he gave in his resignation. The catholics assumed the title of pure royalists, and the protestants they branded as impure. The prefect, who was proclaimed the saviour of the catholics, was obliged, or, at least, he was required, to submit to the most unworthy compromises. On a public occasion the people called upon him to purify the box he occupied. The impure being who defiled the seat of the prefect was M. Vincent St. Laurent, distinguished by his attainments and his civism ; but, alas ! a protestant, and secretary to the consistory. In the year 1790 he saved the house and the property of that intolerant catholic, M. Vidal, from destruction ; and, throughout the reign of the Jacobins, he was persecuted and put *hors la loi*. The prefect was timid and weak enough to request M. Vincent to retire, and, to gratify the *purès*, he sacrificed at once policy and principle. But he soon learnt the design and the value of the popularity by which he was exalted ; the moment he began to exert his authority, it vanished, and he sunk to a level with M. de Castelnau.

Between the church of the Carmelites and one

of the protestant temples, a sort of triumphal rotunda was erected, and those lines of Gusman, in Voltaire's *Alzire*, formed one of the inscriptions :

Des Dieux que nous servons, connais la difference  
Le tien t'a commandé le meurtre et la vengeance ;  
Et le mien quand ton bras vient de m'assassiner,  
M'ordonne te plaindre et te pardonner.

The design was evident, and the prefect ordered and obtained, though with difficulty, the removal of the inscription. Immediately the inscriptions and placards in honor of the prefect were torn down and trampled underfoot, and the next day the four lines were printed, and thrown into the houses, and stuck on the doors of the temples of the protestants.

Lavondés, the author of the parody, (for the connection in which it was placed, made the quotation a parody,) instead of the forbidden versification, placed over his door, " the Bourbons or Death." The prefect again interfered, and ordered this revolutionary devise, so absurd and mischievous when all were unanimous in their loyalty, to be effaced. A tumultuous crowd assembled, and, in a threatening attitude, surrounded the hotel of the prefecture. Blanchard, a man in the employ of the municipality, had the audacity to wear a placard with the motto, " the Bourbons or Death," on his breast, and it was exhibited at the houses of many of the catholics. Among others it adorned the hotel of M. Sur-

ville, nephew to the Abbé Lapierre, so celebrated in 1790. The receiver general M. Labarollière, a catholic, lived in the same house, and anxious for the safety of the cash in his bureau, and apprehensive of tumult, he requested the removal of the inscription. M. Surville refused, and it was not till the prefect, on the one hand, threatened to use force, and, on the other, gave his permission to substitute some other motto, that he was obeyed. Such was the moderation of M. Surville in 1814. In 1815 he was colonel of the national guard; subsequently he obtained the receivership instead of M. Labarollière; and finally received letters of nobility. The prefect read his destiny the next morning, on his door, in a miserable *quatrain*, which was posted up during the night, concluding with these words:

“ Roland, c'est pour toujours  
Que tu as perdu notre amour.”

So great already was the effervescence of the catholics, that they threatened to set fire to all the arches and trophies erected by the protestants in honour of the king; and to prevent further mischief, the local government had them taken down, under pretence that the flowers were faded, and that the trees had lost their verdure. The voice of the laws and the person of the magistrate were equally despised, and fanaticism was excited by artful men, who were supported by instigators still more artful and powerful, against

whom it was impossible to proceed ; though in their own persons and by their agents, and in the name of royalism and religion, they opposed, as they did in 1790, the declared will of the sovereign.

It is not surprising that the public tranquillity was thus disturbed, and that the peaceable protestants were again assailed, when it is considered that the men of 1790 were again in action, and prepared to renew their plots and massacres, and to rekindle, for their own political and party purposes, the fires of religious persecution. Froment, who has proclaimed himself, “ the chief of the royalists,” mortified in his expectations, has been pushed by his indiscretion beyond all prudence, and his evil genius has exposed, in all their deformity, the hopes and projects of his party. In vain has he subsequently endeavoured to suppress the revelation and destroy the memorial of their baseness ; despicable as is the author, the revelation itself is of the greatest consequence. “ The protestants,” says a journal of the 7th October, 1818, “ owe their thanks to Francois Froment for his publications of 1817. Have there been troubles ? It is he who has organized them. Have there been armed assemblages ? He has collected them. Has civil war raged ? He has prepared, and provoked, and prolonged it. It is true this enemy of the protestants only makes these confessions for his own interest, and to establish his right to the favors he desires ; but if the protestants are relieved from the burden of grati-



tude, they are at liberty to produce his avowals in evidence of the lawfulness of their self-defence against attacks, of which their accusers acknowledge themselves the authors." The maxim of these pure royalists is avowed; avail yourselves of *religious* zeal, and make the *altar* subservient to the projects of ambition! "It was the maxim of 1790, (says their chief, Froment,) and it is now."

The declaration of the 20th of April, 1790, in the Church of the White Penitents, cannot be forgotten by those who have read the preceding pages of this work, nor the methods resorted to at that period, to rouse religious fury, and direct it to political purposes. The plans of 1814 and 1815 were dictated by the same spirit, and the results were precisely the same.

In the month of May, 1814, an address, in direct opposition to the charter, was drawn up by Boyer, son of the Boyer who was assistant to M. Vidal, *procureur* of the commune, in 1790. Artifices and menaces were alternately employed to obtain signatures to the paper, which was deposited at a *café*; but the same persons who had signalled themselves by the inscriptions which the prefect had prohibited, were obliged to hawk about the address from house to house, before a sufficient number could be obtained. It was expressed in the following terms:

"SIRE,

"For fourteen centuries the monarchy ren-

dered the French happy. Impious and sacrilegious hands touched the holy ark, and the royal power has been weakened by twenty-five years of anarchy, crimes, and misfortunes. Divine Providence has deigned to put an end to so many evils; he has, to use an expression of your majesty, broken the instrument of his anger. The usurper of the throne of St. Louis, the devastator of Europe, has seen his odious power overthrown. Your majesty has re-conquered a kingdom, and has been recalled to our hearts, and to the order of succession. Instructed] in the school of adversity, your majesty will view with just suspicion, all those snares by which they may wish to entrap your noble disposition; but there is one which all France perceives; which carries terror into the hearts of the royalists; and which renders it an imperious duty in them to point it out. This snare is the constitution proposed in the name of the senate. To make a bargain with a legitimate sovereign is a mere mockery; it is to reserve, in fact, the right of deposing him. The thought alone constitutes a crime of high treason; to impose on him conditions, is to degrade him; to submit to take an oath to maintain such an agreement, is to call Heaven to witness the most shameful capitulation. And what king, just Heaven, is to experience such an humiliation? A Bourbon, a descendant of Henry IV. and of Louis XV.? the brother of the unfortunate

Louis XVI.? Far from true Frenchmen be this afflicting idea.

“ The faithful subjects of your majesty, residing in the city of Nismes, *true to the principles which they manifested in 1790, and which they have since constantly professed*, have felt, Sire, that they ought not to conceal them on the present glorious occasion; and they hasten to transmit them to your majesty, full of confidence in the paternal solicitude of their king. They trust, that a monarch, too long desired, will never cease to be invested with the *most absolute* power; and that it will depend on his will to give us a constitution, dictated only by his wisdom, and by his attachment to his people.”

A deputation, consisting of Francois Froment, the Marquis Rochemaure, the Abbé d’Esgrigny, the Marquis Montcalm, Boyer, &c. &c. presented this dangerous document to the king on the 15th of June; and his majesty replied, “ I am touched with your sentiments. I have answered your address before-hand, by my declaration of the 2d of this month. You may rely on my care.”

The catholics of several towns, imitating those of Nismes, presented to the king their declarations that there ought to be in France but one God, one king, and one faith.\* In pur-

\* When Monsieur entered Lyons the first time in 1814, the Mayor placed over one of the gates this inscription, *Un Dieu, un Roi, une Foi*. I saw the same intolerant motto on a column in the place St. Pierre, in that city.

suit of the same object, a circular letter was issued, calling on all the ancient bishops of France to solicit the dismissal of the secretary to the minister of the interior, because he was a protestant; and an address was prepared for the recall of the jesuits. It lay for signatures at the office of M. Bazille, notary at Nismes; and a catholic *curé*, though a jansenist, felt himself obliged to sign it. In other circumstances, and in ordinary times, religious ceremonies might have been innocent and harmless; but in the state of public feeling then excited, they could not but be mischievous: they were, however, studiously multiplied and ostentatiously associated with every political project. The people were invited to pray for the re-establishment of the ancient orders, and especially that of the jesuits; and at Nismes, billets were distributed at the church doors, in nearly these words: “The faithful are requested to say *so many paters* and *so many aves* for the prosperity of the throne and the restoration of the jesuits.” At Alais, Sauve, and other places, the penitents were assembled; and all the towns in the department, which had bishops before the revolution, demanded their re-institution.\* In all these proceedings there was no question but of one church, — one religion, whose prosperity

\* Bishoprics were much more numerous in the south than in any other part of France. Avignon being the seat of the Pope, he created around him a swarm of bishops, who had their palaces in the neighbouring towns.

was to be secured at all events ; the other religion, if noticed, had only an usurped existence, and the period of its destruction was arrived.

About this time, M. Baron, counsellor of the Cour Royale of Nismes, formed the plan of dedicating to God a silver child, if the Duchess d'Angoulême should give a prince to France. The marguillierie assembled and deliberated, and the project was converted into a public religious vow, and was solemnly proclaimed, on the 19th of July, in the parish church of St. Castor, and in the chapel of St. Francois de Salles. The whole city was informed ; the vow was the subject of conversation in public and in private ; the people were excited to say as many paters and aves as possible ; and after inflaming their passions by crying "*Vivent les Bourbons*" in the streets, they knelt at the altar, and perverted their imaginations with the same political and superstitious objects.

A deputation of the marguilleries (church-wardens) of the parishes of Nismes, formed of Francois Froment, secretary of the king's cabinet, Viscount de Bernis, Abbé d'Esgrigny, Viscount de Suffren, Marquis d'Assas, Marquis de Rochemaure, Marquis de Montcalm, Marquis de Calviere, and Trinquelague, first advocate general of the royal court of Nismes, had an audience of Madame la Duchess d'Angoulême ; and M. Trinquelague spoke as follows : \*

\* It is necessary to introduce the reader more formally and fully to the most important and active of these pure and

“ MADAME,

“ In the name of the administrators of the parishes of the city of Nismes, we come to present to you the homage of a religious act, with which they

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catholic royalists, that he may form an estimate of their religion and loyalty, and of their motives and good faith in traducing the protestants, and persecuting them as Buonapartists. M. Baron, solicited for several years the favours of the Emperor Napoleon, and having at length obtained a place by the patronage of Cambaceres, formerly his colleague in the court of aid at Montpellier, he publicly declared that he was indebted to Napoleon for the completion of his happiness. His daughter married the son of M. Trinquelague.

M. Trinquelague merits some attention. Before the revolution he was sub-delegate to the Bishop of Uzes, who with the Duke of Uzes, divided all the seignorial rights and property ; and the office of M. T. was of course very offensive and oppressive. In the year 1790, he was president of the *soi-disant* catholics of Uzes, who published an inflammatory declaration similar to that adopted in the Church of the White Penitents, at Nismes, on the 20th of April. Accused of having provoked the massacre of the protestants, he was ordered by the constituent assembly to be brought before the high court of Orleans.

In the year 1796, he appeared as an advocate at the bar of Nismes.

In 1800 Buonaparte nominated him to the court of appeal. He proved himself an ardent admirer of his patron.

In the year 1806 he delivered a speech in honor of Napoleon which is printed in the *Notice des Travaux d'Academie du Gard*. “ To monarchy (says the orator) we owe the hero who rules our destinies. His greatness is become ours. He has recalled to France order, justice, religion, and victory : at his powerful voice anarchy abandoned our country, justice gave us laws, religion consoled our sorrows, and victory prostrated our enemies at our feet. With what profound

have been inspired by their ardent love for the blood of their king, and their profound veneration for your royal highness. Like all Frenchmen, they have felt that there is wanting to our happiness a son of your's ; and they ask one of Him, from whom emanates every good. They have deposited at the foot of the altar their vow, to consecrate to Him a monument of their gratitude. They would have left this vow of their hearts under the veil of the sanctuary, and have waited in respectful silence for the benefit which their prayers solicited ; but your royal highness

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sentiments of gratitude ought we not to attach ourselves to his repairing government ?”

In the year 1808, Cambaceres passed through Nismes, and received a visit from the advocates. Trinquelague addressed him, and pronounced an eulogium on the emperor, and on the arch-chancellor, his friend and representative. Cambaceres made a flattering reply, and to his protection, or rather to his own adulation, Trinquelague was indebted for his office of advocate general, and for his success on soliciting for his son the place of *councillleur auditoire*.

In the year 1813, he made a public apology of the emperor, represented him as the first hero in the world, the envoy of God for the happiness of the people of Europe, and anathematized all who should attempt to expel him from the throne.

In the year 1814, he presented to the Duchess d'Angoulême the vow of the silver child.

In the year 1815, by the murder of the protestants, he was elected one of the deputies for the Gard, &c. &c.

In the year 1816, he supplanted M. Guizot (a protestant) in the important office of secretary to the minister of justice ; and is member of the court of cassation.

has often said, that the love of the French could alone convey consolation to your heart, and they rejoiced at the thought, that in communicating their sentiments, they might, perhaps, soften a moment of melancholy recollection. Ah, Madame, what Frenchmen are there to whom you are not dear? Our eyes are directed towards you as the precious offspring of a martyr king, as a remembrance of his love for his people, and of an adored queen. It is to you, it is to your filial piety, to your tender solicitude, to your consoling cares, that we owe the preservation of that monarch, so long desired, who fills the measure of our wishes and our hopes. Tutelary angel of France! it is to you she owes absolution from that crime which God would not pardon, only because your heart remains French. May the happy influence of your virtues render her worthy of possessing you; and to perpetuate her happiness, may those celestial virtues become the hereditary patrimony of an illustrious descendant of your race, and that august race preside eternally over our destinies!"

This conditional vow of dedication, worthy of the dark ages, and too absurd not to be despised by the very persons who proposed it, served the purpose for which it was designed; and if it deceived and flattered the royal family, it is not surprising that it should have increased the intolerance and fanaticism of an ignorant populace. If such an exhibition appeared to the priests and *cure's* proper in itself, and in its rela-



tion with the catholic faith, they ought at least to have endeavoured to counteract its anti-social effect; and they should have opposed the voice of reason, humanity, and religion, to the baneful ascendancy of superstitious frenzy. But, unhappily, they who were in a situation to regulate the popular feeling and conduct, perverted them, in order to render them more subservient to their base designs. The whispers of the confessional were more terrible than thunder, and, from its mystic gloom, burst fires more destructive than the desolating lightning.

It has been asserted, that at Alais, women were advised and instigated to poison their protestant husbands. I would hope that such reports were unfounded or exaggerated, especially, as too many others, less revolting, appear unquestionable. M. Mariane was married to a protestant wife, and they lived peaceably and happily for some years in the village of Maza, in the commune of Cardet. Attentive to the duties of his religion, he went one day to St. Jean de Serre, to confess to the *curé* of the parish. The priest refused absolution, but on the condition, that the man would convert his wife. "Assume," said he, "an angry countenance, and when she asks the reason of this change, say to her, 'I am not my own master, a demon possesses me, and you may deliver me by turning catholic; thus, you can save me and save yourself.'"

Mariane was a good catholic, but he had also good sense enough to reject this wicked attempt to

make him live miserably with a wife, whom he had long found, though a protestant, to be worthy of his affections.

Aperuquier, at Nismes, during several months, rendered his wife most unhappy, without assigning any reason for his unusual and cruel treatment. At length, reason regained its empire, and he acknowledged to his wife, "that the priest had poisoned his mind against the protestants, and taught him to believe that they must be exterminated in France." Without multiplying instances of this persecuting spirit, it will be easily imagined, that it must have had great influence in producing the crimes, of which these pages will present a true picture.

Simultaneously with these appeals to religious passions and prejudices, the pure catholic royalists disseminated the most atrocious libels against the protestants, in their political capacity. They represented them as the authors and perpetrators of all the crimes of the revolution. It was nothing that the revolution commenced in a part of France entirely catholic; that the most important measures of the legislature had been proposed by the catholic clergy; the formation of the national assembly, in defiance of the king, by the Abbé Sieyès, at Versailles; the appropriation of the church property by Bishop Talleyrand; and the abolition of royalty by the Curé Gregoire; that a catholic priest, Roux, was appointed by the commune of Paris to conduct Louis XVI. from the Temple to the scaffold.

fold; that the protestants could not have had any political influence; that at Nismes there was no difference of opinion as to the revolution; that in the reign of terror, the protestants received, as the reward of their attachment to a constitutional government, imprisonment, proscription, and death\*; that under Napoleon they had held only subordinate stations; all this was forgotten or denied. "The protestants," said they, "abandoned royalty; the revolution was their work; the tyrant heaped favours upon them; they oppressed the catholics by his authority." Had Buonaparte been supported only by the protestants, he would not have made France and Europe the stepping-stones for his ambition. What means, too, had the protestants of oppressing catholics? The emperor's court was not composed of protestants; they did not occupy the most lucrative and eminent offices; equality of religious rights was not achieved for France by Buonaparte; and when the revolutionary fury raged, the altars and the priests were most respected, where there were most protestants.

Alas! these reflections were of no avail; truth and virtue, rank, talents, age, sex, all fell before the remorseless march of interested politicians and infatuated bigots. Wine, money, assurances of impunity, absolutions, and indulgences, were

\* More than fifty, most of them persons of great respectability, fell by the guillotine.

all employed to excite the agents to the work of persecution. Protestants could no longer appear in public without insults and injuries. They were obliged to fly from the promenades and the places of resort, to conceal themselves wherever they could find asylum, or seek an insecure refuge in their own houses. After the populace had abandoned themselves to every species of intemperance in the taverns, they assembled in the streets and public squares, in mobs of 3 and 4000. Those, who, but a short time before would have thought themselves disgraced by any contact with such persons, now supported and increased their licentiousness. If they met with protestants they seized them, danced round them with barbarous joy, and amidst repeated cries of *Vive le Roi*, they roared in their ears cannibal songs, the chorus of which was, "We will wash our hands in the blood of the protestants, and of their livers we will make *fricandeaux*." "We will make black-puddings of the blood of Calvin's children." \*

"I publicly and fearlessly declare, (says M. Durand, an advocate, and a catholic,) that I

\* *In Patois.*

"Lavaren nostri mans  
Din lou sang di proutestans,"

\*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*  
\*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*

"Duon sang deis enfans de Calvin  
Faren de boudin."

have seen these frightful groupes ; that I have heard these disgusting vociferations, these sanguinary songs ; that more than a hundred times I have heard them ; that those who sang, and those who listened, closed their songs with these sinister sounds, *Les Bourbons ou la mort !* Thousands of witnesses can attest my declaration, and, if necessary, I can produce the *procès-verbal* of a scandalous scene which followed one of these meetings. M. C—— was returning home ; he heard horrible imprecations against the protestants ; he ventured to approach and make some observations on their impropriety ; he was surrounded, attacked, and his life was in danger : a commissary of police interfered and rescued him. M. C—— was a catholic.”

Every moment was fruitful of disorder and alarm. The prefect, unable to calm the tempest, had recourse to the Count de Latour Maubourg, commissioner extraordinary to the king at Montpellier. He arrived amidst dark and portentous clouds ; but his presence drove back the storm. He proceeded against the agitators, restrained the oppressors, and relieved the oppressed. Lavondés was confined in the fort of Briscou ; Terme placed under *surveillance* in his own commune ; and the protestants entertained the hope that they should yet be allowed to enjoy repose. On their part, they endeavoured to conciliate their enemies by extending their compliances to the utmost limits of propriety. They consented to the re-establishment of the external ceremo-

nies of the catholic church, and they assured Count Maubourg they should accede with pleasure, if the catholics would be satisfied.\*

The *Fête Dieu* was celebrated throughout the department of the Gard, with the greatest pomp and solemnity. The tapestry was suspended in the front of the houses of Calvinists, and at Nismes, the protestants of the Urban guard even kept the ground for the religious *cortége* of the Roman catholics. Concessions were useless, and all the activity of the magistrate was necessary to restrain the malevolence by which they were met.

When M. Castelnau resigned the mayoralty, in consequence of the ill-treatment he experienced, another protestant was appointed ; a testimony, this, on the part of the government, to the good conduct of the reformed. M. d'Aunant, his successor, brought to the office a high reputation ; it was expected that his administration would be wise, vigilant, and firm ; and expectation was not disappointed. In spite of the obstacles which were opposed to his measures, his first efforts were successful. Four commissaries of police still remained, who, either by their inattention or hostility, compelled him to perform their duties. For several months he had to manage the details of a police of 40,000

\* A law of the imperial government prohibited catholic processions in every town where there was a consistorial church ; and the protestants of Nismes permitted this law to be dispensed with, in favour of their bitter adversaries.

persons. Day and night he traversed the city, appeared when unexpected, penetrated the haunts and disconcerted the plans of the factious and fanatical: not that they abandoned their designs; no, they were "true to the principles of 1790." They endeavoured to provoke the protestants to some disloyal act, by alarming them as to the intentions of the government, and then waited to spring upon their prey. On the other hand, they used every method to induce the government to view the protestants as natural and irreconcilable enemies of the throne. It is a fact, stated by M. Perrot, though questioned by the prefect, M. Jouques, that an important public agent was frequently solicited to exhibit them in the worst light, in his correspondence with the minister. Great offers were made, and he was promised the highest offices and honours. He was a catholic, but inaccessible; he preserved his integrity, and is rewarded by public gratitude and esteem.\*

Monsieur, the brother of the king, on his arrival at Nismes, in October, 1814, acknowledged the good that M. d'Aunant had effected; and, in the universal confidence which his presence awakened, he had reason to acknowledge, that the protestants were as loyal as any other class of subjects.

\* After being dismissed from his situation by the persecuting authorities, he has been within a few months restored to his important station, and lately he has been appointed mayor of Nismes.

All the churches of the department sent deputations, and his Royal Highness concluded his address to the consistory of Nismes, with these words : “ You know the intentions of the King with regard to you ; he cherishes all his children ; your happiness will be his happiness ; his sentiments will never change.”

M. d'Aunant received from Monsieur the crosses of St. Louis, and of the Legion of Honor. The latter, was also conferred on M. O'Desmond, pastor, and M. Seyne of the protestant consistory, and on M. Bonhomme, *curé* of St. Charles, who had been abused and treated as an apostate, because, at that time, he preached union, moderation, peace, and the benevolent principles of the Gospel.

The Urban guard attended the prince. It preserved the organisation of 1812, and was composed of persons of both religions. Three of each communion obtained the decoration of the Legion of Honor.

It was by these decisive actions as well as by the most flattering words, that his Royal Highness gave the lie to all the alleged disloyalty of the protestants, and appeared altogether a different man from that Monsieur, with whom Froment boasts of having associated at Turin in 1790, and at Coblentz in 1792.

I shall not affect to unravel the mystery, but it is a curious fact, that, however kind the disposition evinced, and the more powerful the protection promised on these royal visits, the



enemies of the protestants invariably became more hostile, more furious, and more audacious. While the prince was at Nismes, the north wind, which blows violently in Languedoc, threw down a bust of the King, which had been insecurely fixed on a triumphal arch. This accident was charged as a crime on the protestants. Credulity was proportioned to desire, and the circumstance created considerable agitation. M. Baron was heard to say to the Abbé Ferrand some days after, "It was wrong to suffer, so favourable an opportunity to pass unimproved."

The notorious men, who had been restrained by the orders of Count Maubourg, the royal commissioner, re-appeared; others quitted their obscurity; large mobs assembled with fresh audacity, and sang with glee those dreadful songs, which are now remembered with horror. They originated in certain houses, streets, and quarters of the town; from thence they proceeded like barbarous hordes led by savage chiefs; they committed shameful outrages, compelled the citizens who came to the promenades for air and refreshment, from the close and filthy streets, to retire, and chased them with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, as though those shouts justified every excess: they became at length the ordinary rallying cries of the banditti, and sounds of terror to the protestants.

M. d'Aunant could do but little against a people inspired, by what was called "legitimate

enthusiasm ;” where danger to life appeared imminent, he displayed the energy of his character, plunged into the tumultuous crowds, and calmed or dispersed them by entreaty and persuasion. Seize or deliver the guilty to the vengeance of the laws, he durst not ; a single spark would have produced a general conflagration.

The instructions of the party came from a distance, and a central committee at Nismes directed the prescribed operations. There existed an indefinite and almost invisible authority, bold, artful, and more powerful than the public authority of the King. The 21st of January 1815 arrived ; in the protestant temples, a solemn service (called by the catholics expiatory) was performed in commemoration of the death of Louis XVI. The sermons and prayers delivered on the occasion at Nismes, were printed and distributed by the consistory ; but this, like all other acts of respect and loyalty, was despised and perverted : they were told that it was in vain for them to dissemble ; that in spite of all their pretended loyalty, their security had terminated with the reign of Napoleon ; that their temples would be soon rased, and their ministers proscribed. If they referred to the charter, they were directly assured it would be of no service to them ; and that they had only been managed to be the more effectually destroyed. Persons of rank were heard to say in the public walks and streets,

“ All the Hugonots must be killed ; this time, their children must be killed, that none of the accursed race may remain.” It is true they were not murdered, but they were cruelly treated ; protestant children could no longer mix in the sports of Catholics, and they were not permitted to appear without their parents. At dark, their families shut themselves up in their apartments ; but even there stones were thrown against their windows. When they rose in the morning, it was not uncommon to find gibbets drawn on their doors, or on their walls ; and in the streets, the catholics held cords already soaped before their eyes, and pointed out the instruments by which they hoped and designed to exterminate their communion. Small gallows, or models were handed about ; and a man, who lived opposite one of the pastors, exhibited one of these models from his window, and made signs, sufficiently intelligible, when the minister passed. A figure, representing a protestant preacher, was suspended in a public cross-way, and the most atrocious songs were sung under the windows of the pastor’s lodgings. Towards the conclusion of the carnival, a plan had even been formed to make a caricature of the four protestant ministers, and, after a mock trial, to burn them in effigy ; but M. d’Aunant, having information of the scheme, prevented the scandal, and the consequences that might have ensued. A dreadful song presented to the prefect in the Patois, with a false

translation, was printed by his approbation ; and it was not till it had obtained considerable circulation that the prefect saw the extent of the error into which he had been betrayed. In order to counteract the evil, the mayor issued, on the 15th of February, 1815, a general order against all seditious and hostile cries. M. d'Albignac, commandant of Nismes, was often obliged to employ the military under his orders, to awe and disperse the mobs, and the sixty-third regiment of the line was publicly censured and insulted, for having, according to order, protected the protestants. At Uzes, Sommières, and other towns in the department, and in the neighbouring departments, where the protestants were in the minority, the same scandalous and alarming scenes daily occurred. " A witness," says a respectable individual, " of the constant provocations and injuries of the protestants, I cannot but compare them to the bulls, which were so cruelly tormented in our ancient arenas, on purpose to provoke them to fight. I admire in both the union of power and patience. We know the project of our enemies, and we could make a serious resistance ; but if we attempt to defend ourselves, their triumph will be certain ; they will describe us as rebels, make us responsible for all we have suffered, and for all they wish and design us to endure. We endeavour to sustain hope ; our pastors redouble their activity ; they preach patience, and take great pains to prevent re-action on the part of the poor, who are

least enlightened, and most exposed to suffering and vexation; and their efforts are not in vain."

The catholics severed all the ties which united them to their fellow-citizens, and those who were the most liberal, were too often obliged from fear and policy, to appear to acquiesce. Every thing announced to the protestants, the fate that awaited them: a universal anxiety to avoid impending evils, was a frightful indication of their certainty and extent; irritation was at its height, and peril was imminent. The government was informed of the true state of affairs, and the ministry had only to denounce persecution to destroy it; but it had authors, and apologists, and advocates at the foot of the throne. If the ministers were not satisfied, why did they not investigate? and if satisfied, why did they not act? Why did they not remove the prefect and his subalterns, who afforded no protection, displayed no zeal, inspired no confidence? Unfortunately, the general, was in harmony with the local system of administration, and was more calculated to increase, than to allay apprehension. The zeal for the restoration of antiquated and superstitious rites; the reception of the priests at court; the impunity and even the applause enjoyed by those who propagated principles directly contrary to the charter; the reports that circulated without impediment, in favour of a resumption of church property, and the renewal of the scenes of St.

Bartholomew ; all formed a mass of evidence which it was impossible to resist. There could be no doubt, but that, at all events, an attempt would be made to restore the order of things, which had expired with the eighteenth century. The improved condition of the protestants formed one of the first faint rays of the Aurora of freedom ; their entire emancipation from the oppression of ages marked the full ascendancy of liberty, and the institutions of the revolution gave them equal rights, and legal security. The return to darkness, superstition, and slavery, was of course to be announced by the revival of the oldest prejudices, and the persecution of the first objects of a just and liberal policy. The mercenary wretches, who were desirous of their own aggrandizement, seized, at once, the symptom ; and while they felt that the extinction of the light and energy which emanate from the principles of protestantism, would favour all future attacks on liberal catholics, and the spirit of the age, they saw in the persecution of the Hugonots, a certain recommendation to the confidence of the new masters, and the caresses of the new court. A just and organised resistance would have received the reward of malignant rebellion ; patient and unlimited submission could only render their butchers more wanton and capricious. There was no alternative. The protestants were as sheep destined to the slaughter. In this state of things Napoleon re-appeared.

## CHAP. VI.

EFFECT OF NAPOLEON'S ARRIVAL. — THE DUKE D'ANGOULÊME AT NISMES. — ADDRESSES OF PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS. — FORMATION OF A ROYAL ARMY. — PROTESTANTS INSULTED AND MENACED. — THE HOLY WEEK. — ARREST OF M. VINCENT ST. LAURENT. — SUCCESS OF NAPOLEON. — DEPARTURE OF THE DUKE FOR PONT ST. ESPIRIT. — PEACEABLE CONDUCT OF THE PROTESTANTS. — NATIONAL COLOURS HOISTED AT MONTPELLIER, AND IN ALL THE SURROUNDING DEPARTMENTS. — REVOLUTION AT NISMES. — GENERAL GILLY TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE TROOPS. — CAPITULATION OF THE DUKE D'ANGOULÊME. — REPORT OF BARON DAMAS. — CHARGES AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS REFUTED. — BREACH OF THE TREATY BY THE ARMY OF THE PRINCE. — AFFAIRS OF ARPAILLARGUES. — SERVIER. — MARCEAU. — VAUVERT AND MAS D'ASSAS. — TRANQUILLITY AT NISMES. — ROYALIST CATHOLICS ASSEMBLE AT ST. GILLES AND OTHER PLACES. — THE POWER IN THE HANDS OF CATHOLICS. — HISTORY OF THE FEDERATION. — COMMISSIONERS ARRIVE FROM SPAIN TO PREPARE CIVIL WAR. — M. DE BERNIS'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENT. — M. VIDAL, OF 1790, AGAIN IN ACTION. — DEPREDACTIONS OF THE CATHOLICS. — WATERLOO. — PROCLAMATIONS OF THE PREFECT AND COMMANDANT OF THE GARD. — WAR DECLARED BY THE CHIEFS OF BEAUCAIRE. — GENERAL GILLY AT NISMES. — HIS PROCLAMATION. — NEGOCIATIONS. — ARMISTICE BROKEN BY M. DE BERNIS. — FORBEARANCE OF GENERAL GILLY AND THE PROTESTANTS. — INTELLIGENCE OF THE RETURN OF LOUIS XVIII. — BOURBON FLAG HOISTED. — FLIGHT OF GENERAL GILLY. — SUBMISSION OF THE

TROOPS. — MURDER OF TWO PROTESTANTS. — PUBLIC RESTORATION OF THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT BY M. DAUNANT, THE PROTESTANT MAYOR.

THE descent of Napoleon on the shores of France was hailed as a triumph by the catholics. They foresaw that a violent catastrophe would favour their designs. The return of the allies, the restoration of feudality, and the proscription of every doctrine unknown to the sixteenth century, were, in their opinion, certain. The protestants, it is true, were not satisfied with the government of the Bourbons; but they were lovers of liberty, and the despotism of Buonaparte had no charms for them. They sighed for the freedom of the press, pure juries, representative government, entire liberty of religious faith and practice: these they considered better guarantees of their rights and comforts, than the most powerful talents, or the most splendid victories. With the exception of the fanatics, all waited in portentous expectation. An awful calm pervaded the city of Nismes; at least it is an important and undeniable fact, that the protestants were perfectly quiet. A rumour circulated, that Buonaparte was seized in the mountains of Dauphiny, and though it was not believed, the event was celebrated with cries of “Buonaparte is dead, *Vive le Roi!*” but if the protestants uttered them, they were insulted as deceivers and partizans. Cannibal songs drowned every loyal exclamation, and their ruin



seemed inevitable. Intelligence arrived that Napoleon pursued his march, uninterrupted by the people, and supported by the military. The fanatics were alarmed ; they knew that the emperor would not suffer the protestants to be treated as in the good old times of Louis XIV. ; and they wished to conciliate those, whom they had just before calumniated. Though so long oppressed, the protestants generously forgot the past, and fraternised with their persecutors. Eight days passed before the Duke d'Angoulême entered Nismes : Buonaparte was everywhere successful ; but still no movements had taken place, and on his arrival H. R. H. said, "Your cries and transports, have announced to me, your love and loyalty to the king." A council was called and a proclamation issued. "Let not your *religious opinions and forms*," said the Duke, "serve as a pretext for disunion ; they teach the same morality, and have they not both a convenient degree of liberty ? As for political opinions, do not those who desire changes in the ancient constitution find that balance of power and that degree of liberty which is the object of their wishes ; and do not you who oppose these changes perceive, that, though it is impossible to restore our ancient institutions, they are replaced by all that experience and public opinion have consecrated as wise ? Let all rise, then, to defend this constitutional charter and the king ; range under the ancient banners : measures are taken to organise and direct your ef-

forts.” An address, signed by the mayor and his assistants, six catholic priests, four protestant pastors, and the municipal council indiscriminately, answered, or rather supported the appeal of his royal highness. “If,” said the address, “the wishes of your magistrates, and the ministers of both religious denominations, can add any force to the words of the prince, they urge you, by every motive, to forget the past ; to repulse and detest all who would divert you from the path which the king, the laws, nature, and religion point out. Remember that division enfeebles, and that no one can hope to escape the public misfortunes, and especially the horrors of intestine war.”

These proclamations produced an instantaneous effect, and the next day, the prince passed in review, the Urban Guard, amidst acclamations, which his liberal and assuring professions drew, both from the soldiers and the spectators. But it was in vain that a signal of union was acclaimed, which the party would neither understand nor adopt. The organisation of the royal army commenced, and protestants offered themselves for enrolment ; but the association which the catholics professed to desire, when alarmed, they now rejected with indignation : they determined to possess themselves with the military power ; the higher classes gave the impulse, and the populace pronounced the decree : “ We will not serve with the enemies of the king ;” “ Protestant rascals shall

not be in our ranks.” The rascally protestants did not however retire, till these cries had been repeated a thousand times, and they were convinced, that to attempt union would only create confusion. Even then, they did not abandon the prince ; they were almost the only contributors to a subscription which was opened for the equipment and support of the volunteers. Messrs. Maigre and Roux Cabanel were the treasurers.

It was the holy week ; and the Duke attended, with the greatest regularity, the different ceremonies and services of the catholic church. The catholics boasted that he had descended barefoot, from the prefecture to the cathedral, and embraced the cross. The consequences were mischievous in the extreme ; for the practices which his fervent and exalted piety suggested, soon filled the churches with merciless bigots. By the vilest contradiction, the season in which pardon and reconciliation are the themes of sacred celebration, gave fresh vigour to hatred and persecution. Inflamed and infuriated, the fanatical crowds left their shrines to enter on a destructive crusade against the unoffending protestants ; and the prince was at least unfortunate in having such companions and such scenes connected with his sublime and spiritual devotion. The leading devotees endeavoured to exasperate him against the protestants as Buonapartists, and as his personal enemies. Viscount Peroschel, whose moral

character is not in the sweetest odour, declared, in a printed address to Baron Damas, that they had formed a conspiracy against the life of the prince, and absurd and calumnious as were these slanders, they were believed by the Duke of Serrant, and others of the staff. Whether his royal highness participated in their credulity, is not known ; but it appears, that the insulted protestants could not obtain access to his person, and that he was constantly surrounded by the men who had signed against the charter ; the men “ proud of the principles and crimes of 1790.” By his orders, a distinguished protestant, a member of the consistory and of the council of the Prefecture, a correspondent of the academy of the Gard, a victim of the vengeance of the jacobins as a royalist in 1793, and ejected from the seat of the prefect, as has been mentioned, in 1814, was suddenly arrested and conveyed by night to prison. His crime needs no concealment. On the 24th of March, letters arrived at Nismes from Lyons, which stated that the telegraph announced the departure of the king from Paris on the 19th, and the entry of the emperor on the 20th. M. Vincent St. Laurent mentioned the news in public company. M. Layre \*, who was present, denied

\* M. Layre, it seems, before the Revolution, was a merchant, in partnership with his mother. A writ being issued against him, he went to Piedmont and entered the army. Returning to France, he solicited the place of commissary of police

the statement. M. Vincent regretted but maintained its correctness. Words passed; and M. Layre withdrew, and made such a report, that M. Vincent was sent for and interrogated: he frankly answered that he had learned the intelligence from a letter addressed to M. Brugière, an advocate. M. Brugière was summoned, and produced the letter, and though he was liberated, M. Vincent was put under arrest, and in the night conducted from brigade to brigade, as a conspirator, to the chateau of If. This was a decided and impolitic attack on the protestants; the city was thrown into consternation, and the troops of the line, who afterwards declared for the emperor, would have moved on the slightest encouragement; but the family of the prisoner, and the protestants in general, calmed and repressed their indignation. The effect of this unjust act, on the eve of the Duke's departure, was especially distressing to the protestants, as it opened their eyes to the persecutions they might expect, if success should follow the enterprise of the royal volunteers. The very next day, a proclamation announced officially to all Nismes, the facts which an innocent and respectable citizen had been shamefully imprisoned for mentioning in company. The prince

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at Nismes; the prefect did not favour his application, and his failure was attributed to M. V. M. Layre had lately obtained the cross of St. Louis.

immediately set out for St. Esprit to take command of the royal army. Eighteen hundred men, organised at Nismes, from the Herault and the Gard, had joined two or three days before.

These heroes repeatedly and publicly threatened the protestants with a general massacre on their return; they even renewed their denunciation at the moment when they were reviewed, and, as a pledge of their sincerity, they placed on their breasts *fleurs de lis* of red cloth, distributed to them by M. Surville, the nephew of the celebrated Abbé Lapierre.\*

It is not a little remarkable that the prince took with him the very persons who, had the charges against the protestants been true, should have been left to restrain and controul them: but they knew the virtues of the people they pretended to criminate; and, in fact, the protestants remained peaceable and harmless, if not tranquil and contented. Their expulsion from the army; the arrest of M. Vincent St. Laurent; and the murderous predictions they heard, had abated their zeal, and determined them to watch over their own families and property, and wait with prudence the course of events; but they neither embarrassed the prince nor favoured the cause of the emperor: nay, when it was known that Napoleon was in the Thuilleries, that Louis, beyond the frontiers,

\* See page 39. and 40.

was again an exile, and that the first bodies in the state had recognised and sworn adherence to the imperial government, the department of the Gard did not, in any degree, disturb the operations of the Duke d'Angoulême. Lyons, Grenoble, Dijon, and the principal cities had hoisted the national and tri-coloured standard ; but the banner of the Bourbons still waved on the citadel of Nismes.

Facts are the best arguments ; and I adduce them. In order to keep in check the department of Lozère, and secure his communications on that side, the Duke sent detachments in the direction of Mende : they left Nismes, passed Ledignan, Anduze, St. Jean, and arrived at St. Roman, and thus traversed the Gardonnenque, the part of all France where protestants are in the greatest numbers ; and though provocations, inseparable from the hasty and peculiar composition of the detachments frequently occurred, they were welcomed and well supplied. At St. Roman, they learned that they were too late ; that the whole department had recognised the emperor ; that the national colours triumphed every where ; and in fact that, since their departure, they had been planted at Nismes. Their situation was desperate ; the prince had not yet capitulated ; their colours placed them in a state of hostility against the new government ; they had to return by the same route, across the Gardonnenque, through the centre of those protestants, who were represented as re-

volutionists, as their natural enemies, and in whose blood they had threatened to wash their hands! How were they treated? At St. Jean, the mayor, the protestant pastor, and the most respectable inhabitants, carefully supplied them with food and lodging; and to prevent all inconvenience, commissioners were appointed to conduct them to Anduze. At Anduze they experienced similar treatment, and they marched out of that district, almost entirely protestant, without the slightest insult. Other commissioners conducted them to Ledignan, where they met the same hospitality, without the expence of a single crown; and, finally, they entered their homes, surprised at their own safety, and affected with the unexpected and generous protection they had received.

In the city, the protestants displayed a degree of patience and forbearance which, under the circumstances, was very extraordinary. On one occasion, Truphèmy, a butcher, a wretch only second to Trestaillon for cruelty in the massacres of 1815, and a gang of the same description, heated with wine, made a procession, insulting the soldiers of the line on guard, and the persons who frequented a *café*, called by the fanatics, the *Café de l'Isle d'Elbe*. Their audacity might have occasioned their destruction: the quality and the number of the insulted were imposing, but they dispersed the rabble with only a slight wound being given to Dumas, a wood cleaver, by one of the military. If



the protestants had wished for a pretext, it was provided by these men, but their quietness was unbroken by this and similar incidents. Gregoire, a protestant, who lived with his wife at the last house in the Faubourg, on the road to Uzès, was roused from his first sleep, on the 26th of March, by the barking of his dog. He got up, took his fowling-piece, went into the court-yard, and perceived a man's head above one of the walls of his enclosure. He supposed a thief was designing to rob the house, and though he could have shot the intruder, he only wished to frighten him : he accordingly fired in the air, and in the morning, acquainted the commissary of police, of the intention of some unknown person to enter his house. Four days after, he was attacked and wounded with a fork by one Quet, who informed him that he was the person at whom he had fired a few nights before. Gregoire now complained to the king's attorney, gave him the report of the officer of health on the state of his wounds, and waited the result. The 100 days commenced ; the judges acted in the name of Buonaparte ; the protestants were " all his partizans ;" and yet this partizan of Buonaparte, this vindictive protestant, recovering his health, pursued his business and left Quet unmolested. Such was the spirit of the people ; and the conduct of the superior protestants, to the latest moment, left the catholics nothing to wish. The Duke, at his departure, placed the general council of the

department in permanent activity. On the 1st of April it was joined by the constituted authorities, the officers of the Urban guard, the catholic priests, protestant pastors, and many respectable citizens at the hotel of the protestant mayor, M. d'Aunant. M. Trinquelague\*, advocate-general, prepared an energetic address, with the particular design to detach the troops from the cause of Buonaparte; it was unanimously adopted, signed by the principal protestants of Nismes, and the next day, Sunday, the 2d of April, it was published in a procession, formed of the persons who had adopted it, escorted by two companies of Urban guards, to the cries of *Vive le Roi ! Vivent les Bourbons !*

I shall not discuss the wisdom or prudence of this obstinate and pompous display of adherence to the royal cause. The departments of the Ardèche, the Lozère, the Hérault, and the Drome, had degraded the lily and raised the eagle, and the moments spent at Nismes in the forlorn struggles of pretended loyalty, were consecrated at Montpellier, the chief place of the 9th military division, (in which Nismes is included,) to the inauguration of the imperial government. Such, however, are the facts; the city of all France where the protestants are most numerous, opulent, and effective; and the department in which they are most powerful, was the last to abandon the catholic government of Louis XVIII. The

\* See note to page 109.

order of time cannot be accommodated ; dates confound both sophisms and calumnies.

The news soon travelled from Montpellier ; and, in fact, it was known at Nismes the same evening among the retired military, the soldiers on half-pay, and the sixty-third regiment of the line, then in garrison. It were absurd to imagine, that among such persons, and among the population of a large city, the emperor should not have had numerous partizans, and these might be either catholics or protestants. Certainly the latter had seen enough to disgust them with the restoration, and to make them hail another government as a refuge from their present cruel oppression. Political calculations and preferences vanish, when personal danger is imminent ; and the protestants would have acted both naturally and justly, if they had promoted the return and the triumph of a government, which had always given them security, and if they had contributed to destroy that, which was unable or unwilling to afford them protection ; but still, as a body they were inactive, and as individuals the latest in motion.

The next morning, April the 3d, the half-pay officers were to be reviewed at the fountain. It was generally known, that all the civil and military authorities of Montpellier had recognised Napoleon ; that General Ambert, commandant of the ninth division, had published an order of the day to that effect, and it was expected that General Briche, commandant of

the department, put in execution the order of his commanding officer. The military while waiting for the inspecting officers, conversed on the order of the day of Ambert, and at length one of them, drew his sword, and exclaimed, *Vive l'Empereur*. The effect of an electric spark could not have been more rapid; all cried out, *Vive l'Empereur*; they marched to the barracks, the sixty-third regiment joined them, and the air resounded with their acclamations. Adjutant Pelissier flew to the spot, and endeavoured to check their ebullition: he was arrested by his own troops. The officers called on General Briche to publish the order of the day, which he ought to have received: he repeatedly assured them he had not received it, and refused to explain to them the line of conduct he should adopt. He was put under arrest and conducted to the barracks.

This was an act of military impatience and insubordination, with which, the inhabitants had nothing to do. The city remained peaceable, and the white flag still waved on all its stations. Another moment, and the movement of the military would have been irregular, but necessary. The postman was at the house of General Briche with the dispatch, almost immediately after his arrest, and learning his situation, he delivered the letter to the colonel of the sixty-third, the officer the next in rank. The colonel opened the dispatches, countersigned Ambert, and read as follows:

“ Montpellier, April 2d. 1815.

“ My dear General,

“ You will have received the order of Lieutenant-General d'Aultanne, chief of the army of the south, dated the 1st of April, tending to disorganise the troops, and to involve the officers in the fury of party contest ; and you have without doubt opposed its execution. In the event of your having acted on it, give your orders for the soldiers to be retained, and do not suffer them to disband. Make known my order of the day, to all the troops under you, and collect them in one corps at Nismes or Lunel. I have not given this order either from ambition or any other motive, but that of avoiding a civil war, which they are trying to organise, but which it is impossible to effect, and which would only result in private misery.

“ A national movement might preserve the family of the Bourbons ; that movement has declared against them, and the emperor has been re-seated on the throne without opposition. To-morrow you will receive the deliberation of the council general of L'Herault, and the decree of the prefect of the department, which recognises the imperial government ; and you will also receive the proclamations and orders of the emperor, and the extracts from the bulletins of the laws, which the prefect has had printed.

“ I shall always preserve the profoundest veneration for the royal family. Your sentiments are doubtless similar, and should we ever

be in a situation to give them proofs, we should seize the opportunity with eagerness : but the position of affairs will not permit us to shed unnecessarily the blood of Frenchmen. You will with myself embrace any occasion to shew the princes of that family the respect we entertain for them. Receive, my dear general, the assurance of my consideration.

“ AMBERT.”

The preamble of the order of the day, then states, that—having been for eight days without information from the capital, and subject to the effect of the most mischievous reports ; being informed of the manœuvres employed to disorganise the troops, and promote a civil war, equally useless and disastrous, since the king has left, and all has yielded to the force of circumstances ; finding the people and the army rally round the imperial standard ; and convinced that evils must result from indecision ; it is a duty to prevent an exasperation, which it would not be possible long to restrain ; and having received various orders of the imperial government, &c. &c.

“ It is decreed, that the general recognises, with the council general, and the prefect of the Herault, the acts of that government and orders. That the troops shall take the national cockade ; that no orders shall be obeyed in the division, out those which emanate from him ; that the generals shall take every measure to guarantee public and private tranquillity, and the most

exact discipline among the troops, and shall read the order at the head of the regiments and companies. Dated 2d April 1815."

The colonel immediately ordered the générale to be beaten, and the sound collected the Urban guard, and all the regular troops. The guard fell in, immediately after troops of the line, in order of battle, and the order of General Ambert, was read, printed and stuck up. It was no longer a matter of choice, what cockade should be worn ; for the national colours were unfurled, and the Bourbon flag was prohibited. The city was immediately declared in a state of siege, and the next day, the 4th of April, a battalion of the 2d of the line, and two squadrons of the 10th chasseurs and some artillery, arrived from General Ambert. Thus was affected at Nismes, the revolution of the 3d of April, and the restoration of the power of Napoleon. The protestants had only to receive the impression of changing events ; though it may be added, that, at the moment when the emblems of royalty were proscribed, when the imperial authority was supreme, and the shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" resounded through the city, a protestant officer of the Urban guard, (the eldest son of M. d'Aunant) had the audacity to cry out at the head of his company, "*Vive le Roi !*"

General Gilly, a catholic, since the 18th of march, had retired by order of the Duke D'Angouleme, to his country-house in the neighbourhood of Villeneuve, about ten leagues from

Nismes, and in a canton where there is scarcely a single protestant. In the night of the 5th, he received orders from General Ambert, to take the command of the 2d sub-division, comprising the Gard, the Ardèche, and the Lozere. The city was already in a state of siege, and therefore, neither the civil magistrates, nor even General Gilly were responsible, but the general of division Ambert, whom the Duke d'Angoulême had not displaced, but “ particularly distinguished by his kindness,” and who directed every arrangement. If there had not existed a protestant in the department, every thing would have happened as it did, or it is highly probable that the change would have been less peaceable; as it was, the public tranquillity was not at all disturbed.

General Gilly was informed that General Ambert, to prevent a civil war from entering his division, had sent troops by forced marches, under Colonel St. Laurent, to occupy Pont St. Esprit, and immediately after, he received dispatches from Marshal Davoust, minister of war, ordering him to add such reinforcements, as could be collected or spared from Nismes, and to take the command in chief. General Gilly obeyed; he left Nismes on the 7th of April, slept at Uzès, and found that city abandoned of its magistrates, and in a state of confusion. He prevailed on the sub-prefect and mayor to resume their functions, and M. Bresson, a retired officer, with only four *gensdarmes*, preserved



peace in that town ; whereas, at the second restoration, a large force did not prevent the most horrible and repeated massacres. M. Vallabrix, the sub-prefect, who afterwards presided at the murder of the protestants, earnestly solicited General Gilly, to request the emperor to continue him in his office.

The next morning as General Gilly travelled the road to Pont St. Esprit, he was met by an aide-de-camp with important information. That the Duke d'Angoulême was not able to contend with officers, who had made the campaigns of Napoleon, was no impeachment of his military prowess. The officer announced the occupation of St. Esprit, by Colonel St. Laurent, and the proposal of negotiations by General d'Aultanne, on the part of his royal highness. The general pushed on, and found the negotiators at the Hôtel de la Poste, deciding the destiny of the nephew and the husband of the daughter of Louis XVI. St. Laurent had indeed already agreed, that the duke, on surrendering, should be allowed to retire by easy stages, and embark at Marseilles. Gilly refused his consent, unless Cette were substituted as the place of embarkation. The prince contended for Marseilles, and sent Baron Damas to give effect to the negotiations ; it was in vain ; time was lost ; and at last, after having witnessed the hourly desertion of the royal troops, the count returned to St. Esprit the third time, at ten

o'clock at night, with powers to sign the treaty. \* The protestants had therefore no more to do with the surrender of the prince, than with the revolution of the 3d of April at Nismes, the return of Buonaparte, or the battle of Moscow.

His royal highness was to set out the next night at eight o'clock. General Gilly dispatched one officer at full speed, to Montpellier, to apprise General Ambert, and to request the necessary preparations, and another to Paris, with a copy of the treaty for the emperor. This officer was stopt, before he arrived at the first post, by the staff of Marshal Grouchy, and the aides-de-camp of Napoleon, Corbineau and Piré, who having opened the letter, and sent it on to Paris, hastened themselves, followed by the army, to Pont St. Esprit. Arrived there, they insisted on the instructions of M. Grouchy "to cut off the retreat of the prince, and especially towards the coast," and finally, they determined on his detention, till the emperor's pleasure should be known. At nine p. m. the prince entered with his suite and escort, and alighted at the house of the mayor. To his surprise it was immediately surrounded, and he was required to wait the ratification of the emperor. The emperor respected the treaty. On the 14th

\* About four o'clock p. m. while Baron Damas was engaged with Gilly in his cabinet, an artillery officer of the Duke's army was announced. "Has his royal highness ordered you here?" said the general. "No," said the officer; "we have left his corps, and will not continue in his service."

in the evening the ratification was received, and Grouchy had orders to conduct his royal highness immediately to Cette. \* He passed through Nismes and Montpellier in the night of the 15th; the next morning he reached the port; the wind was favourable, and he embarked, once more an exile from the land of his fathers. Such is the fate of royalty, and so nearly, after all, are men allied by vicissitude and misfortune.

Before he advances another step in the history of this period, let the reader enquire,—what share had the protestants in the violation, or rather the delay, of the convention, or the embarkation of the prisoner? Gilly was a catholic — Grouchy was a catholic — the aides-de-camp were catholics — “our dear son,” the emperor, was an excellent catholic, consecrated by the pope — the country where all this occurred was entirely catholic — how then could the protestant manufacturers at Nismes, or the peasants in the Gardonnenque, be implicated in the capture, or the detention, of this catholic but unfortunate prince?

The official report of Baron Damas, *sous chef d'état major-général* of his royal highness, de-

\* The reasons which induced General Gilly to substitute Cette for Marseilles, I have received from the highest possible source; they were both wise and generous. Marseilles was beyond the limit of his command; it was, therefore, impossible for him to provide for the fulfillment of the treaty; and as the marshal, who commanded at Marseilles, might have received other orders, to have sent the duke to that port, might have been to place him in the power of his foe.

monstrates so perfectly the real character of these events, that it is a duty to lay it before the reader, and to request his particular attention both to the order of the facts and of the dates recorded.

“ The force of his royal highness was formed in three divisions. The first corps, commanded by General Ernouf, and composed of the 58th and 83d of the line, 3000 national guards of Marseilles, and six pieces of cannon, marched on Grenoble. The second corps, commanded by the Duke d’Angoulême, consisted of *only* 2000 national guards of the three departments of the Gard, the Herault, and Vaucluse; the 10th of the line, 900 strong; the 1st royal foreign regiment, of 350 men; 70 national guards *à cheval*; the 14th chasseurs, cavalry, 300 strong; and 12 pieces of cannon, two of them, served by national guards. This corps was to pass the Rhone at Pont St. Esprit, and march rapidly on Lyons by Valence.

“ The third corps, commanded by General Compans, was to keep possession of Auvergne, and facilitate the movement on Lyons. The 24th of March his royal highness received, at Nismes, the news of the occupation of Paris by Napoleon; he directly informed General Compans, of whom he heard no more. Thus one whole corps was immediately lost to the royal cause.

“ On the 29th of March the advanced guard of the second corps occupied Montelimart. On the 30th it was attacked; and, though it main-

tained its position, out of 50 chasseurs, 49, with their officers, passed over to the imperial troops. News arrived on the 31st that Generals Rey, St. Paul, and Lafitte had disbanded the national guards of three departments, the Ardèche, Lozère, and Haute Loire, and taken the tri-coloured cockade. The duke left General Merle, a protestant of Nismes, to maintain Pont St. Esprit, and, with the rest of the second corps, fixed his head quarters at Montelimart on the first of April.

“ His royal highness, after an action with the troops of Napoleon at the Drome, entered Valence the 3d. On the 4th he received intelligence that General Gordanne, with the advanced guard of the 1st corps, which was marching on Grenoble, had joined the enemy. All progress was now stopped. Information arrived, on the 5th of April, that General Ambert had established the imperial government at Montpellier, and in all the ninth military division; and that at Nismes the Generals Briche and Pelissier had resisted in vain, were compelled to submit, and were arrested by the troops. Marshal Grouchy was advancing from Lyons with 2500 troops of the line, by forced marches on Valence.

“ A letter from General Merle informed the Duke, on the morning of the 6th, that troops, from Montpellier, were about to attack St. Esprit, and that he was not inclined to oppose them. Many of the royal troops deserted at Valence. The retreat was ordered on the 7th, and the

colonel of the 14th Chasseurs, announcing the complete insubordination of his regiment, it was dismissed.

“On the 8th, the colonel of the 10th of the line declared, that the greater part of his soldiers would not fight. The artillery equally refused to serve the king. The royal foreign regiment much weakened, and 7 or 800 national guards were all the troops left to his royal highness. Toulouse and Avignon had raised the tri-coloured flag. General Merle had left St. Esprit. The regiment of Berry was marching from Avignon, to prevent the duke’s escape, and General D’Aultanne was immediately dispatched with power to negotiate for his retreat to Marseilles.”

It is most evident, from this report, that at the head-quarters, it was never imagined that the royal disasters were attributable to the protestants ; but at Nismes, every incident was tortured or perverted by the malice of their enemies.

The first article of the treaty stipulated, “That the royal army should be disbanded, and that the national guards, of whom it was composed, under whatever description of force they had been raised, should surrender their arms, return to their homes by given routes, and without being responsible for their past conduct.”

This article has given occasion to an innumerable variety of falsehoods, all equally impudent and abominable. They have been propagated,

published, reiterated, with unparrelled assiduity and confidence.

The protestants are accused of having plundered, murdered, and tortured 300 of the disbanded royalists who relied on the faith of the treaty ; of stripping them at Pont St. Esprit ; casting their bodies into the Rhone ; crimsoning its waters with their blood ; and chopping off their hands when they desperately clung to the sides of the bridge and the shores of the river.

The whole is not merely false but entirely destitute of foundation ; not a single individual received even a scratch. On the left side of the Rhone, in the department Vaucluse, eminently catholic, some of the royal volunteers were deprived of their clothes or accoutrements by the troops of the line. But this was before the capitulation, or at the moment of expected conflict ; and General Gilly gave orders, in the presence of the Baron Damas, for the suppression of all these outrages. The press of the crowd induced a volunteer to walk along the parapet of the bridge of St. Esprit ; he fell—not into the Rhone, but on the exterior stone-work, and broke his thigh. This solitary accident has been magnified, and multiplied, into a series of monstrous crimes against humanity and good faith. No proof of these charges has been attempted ; on the contrary, the testimony of the officers of the royal army, and of the local magistrates has been

challenged, and public discussion has been invited in vain, by the protestants, through the medium of the journals.

The letter of M. d'Aunant, inserted in the journals of Paris, may serve as an instance. M. Achille d'Aunant, counsellor of the royal court at Nismes, belongs to a family whose loyal sentiments are well known, and his brother served in the army of the prince.

“ To the Editor, &c.

“ In a work entitled, *History of the Campaigns of 1814 and 1815*, by M. de Beauchamp, it is said, that 300 royalists of the Duke d'Angoulême's army were killed in the department of the Gard, as they returned to their homes. M. Beauchamp will, doubtless, learn with pleasure, that the most scrupulous and exact investigations, of these pretended murders, have furnished evidence, that only two royal volunteers perished in the department, and that they were traversing the village of Arpaillargues, with a large troop to which they belonged. I pass over many serious errors which M. Beauchamp has committed, but I thought it a duty to refute a statement which, if true, would have fixed an ineffacable stain on the inhabitants of this country.

“ ACHILLE D'AUNANT,

“ Conceilleur a la Cour Royale de Nismes.”



The affair of Arpaillargues, to which M. d'Aunant refers, has been so perverted, that it is necessary to record a full and correct explanation.

Ten protestants have suffered death for a pretended crime at this place ; while not one of the butchers or assassins of Nismes or Uzès, not even Trestaillon, or Quatremaillon, have received the slightest punishment. Trestaillon I saw walking on the esplanade of Nismes, perfectly comfortable and confident, and Quatremaillon, when I was at Uzès, was garde champêtre to a loyal gentleman in that neighbourhood.\*

And here, let it be observed, that, had all the evils which have been ascribed to the protestants really existed, they would have been entirely attributable to the sufferers themselves, for their flagrant violation of the terms of the treaty, by which their safety was ensured. The treaty required, “ that the disbanded troops should deposit their arms ;” instead of which, they marched armed into peaceable districts ; and appeared in a hostile attitude, when they were enjoying liberty to return home under a

\* Since this was written, two of the most notorious murderers of Nismes, have been tried. Servant was found guilty, and guillotined. Truphémé was equally found guilty, but the court of Cassation annulled the sentence, on a point of form. Truphémé was again tried — the ladies of Nismes made a collection, and an advocate went from Nismes to Valence in his behalf. The jury was *well* composed, and as it was impossible to return a verdict of not guilty, they added to the word guilty ‘ of the fact, but not of the intention.’ He was, therefore, only sent to the gallics.

treaty of capitulation. This is not assertion, but fact, established by the very witnesses who were brought in evidence against the villagers of Arpaillargues, at the period of their trial.

John Saunier deposed, “ Returning from the army of the duke, after the capitulation, we marched on Uzès. When we were in the middle of a wood, M. de Vogue, our general, told us that we must each return home. We asked, where we should deposit the flag. Magnié, the commandant, took it from the staff, and put it in his pocket : as for our arms, the general said, we must not deposit, but preserve them, for that before long, we should have occasion for them ; indeed, that we ought to take our arms and ammunition, to protect ourselves from any misfortune on the road. We divided ; sixty-four of us went together. We took a guide, on purpose to avoid Uzès, and set off without officers, &c.”

Fabrégué, Marie, and several other witnesses, deposed to precisely the same facts, — that “ They evaded the great road through Uzès, (the sub-prefecture,) took a guide to show them across the country, marched without officers, and preserved, for a future occasion, their arms and ammunition, which they ought to have deposited.” Abandoned of their chiefs, the volunteers proceeded peaceably on their route ; they passed the protestant village of Montaren, where they were received with civility and kindness, and pursued their course for Arpaillargues. The peasants engaged in their fields little thought of

attacking the royalists or overturning the state. Old men, women, and children, were all busy in their rural occupations. On a sudden, a man of the name of Bertrand, arrived at Arpaillargues on a white horse, at full gallop, with the most alarming news. Bertrand was between fifty and sixty years of age; he was a native of Arles; had served for twenty years one of the knights of Malta; had been of the camp formed at Arles by Froment and his party, to effect a counter-revolution; and was subsequently an emigrant. In 1814, he became coachman to the Abbé Rafin, *ancien vicaire général* of Alais, and afterwards bailiff on his estate at Aureillac near Arpaillargues. "Born in a catholic country," says his master, "and brought up in that religion, he practised scrupulously all its duties, and professed all its holy principles; without this, I dare to say, he would not so rapidly have merited my esteem." This man, well known, servant to an abbé, a zealous catholic, and an excellent royalist, arrived at Arpaillargues at full gallop, and announced with a loud voice, that the disbanded troops, called *Miquelets*, were approaching; and that on their route they had plundered houses, violated females and thrown them out of the windows, and murdered forty protestant ministers. He alighted at the house of M. Boucarut, who acted as mayor, and made his report. The tocsin was sounded, the *générale* beaten, and arms and ammunition were distributed. The whole population assembled;

the road was barricaded with carts, and the peaceful village, roused by Bertrand, was put in a state of defence. The royalists, observing the crowd, and hearing the tocsin, advanced with signs of amity, and with their arms reversed. They were interrogated by Boucarut, the mayor, and they declared, that they only wished quietly to pass the town. The mayor promised them safety and accommodation, on condition that they deposited their arms, but refused them even a passage, without this compliance. After all that had been reported of their enormities, it is hardly possible, that he could have required less as a measure of safety, even if they had not been in a state of hostility and acting contrary to the convention. The volunteers appeared disposed to accede, but some of them, during the parley, continued to press on the mayor, and the people, observing their encroachment, became suspicious and inflexible in proportion as the volunteers attempted to enter the village, without complying with the terms; a confusion commenced, and fearing least a band of armed men should perpetrate the horrors which Bertrand had described, they seized the foremost, attacked the rest, disarmed some, pursued others, and treated them as an armed populace usually treat those who fall into their power. Four were wounded, two slightly, and two mortally; one died at Arpaillargues, and the other in the hospital at Uzès. It is proper to add the *procès verbal* of the judge of the canton, on the re-

removal of one of the bodies the next day, attended by several municipal officers of both places. "We learned," said he, "from a man, (a royal volunteer), who was confined in the prison of the commune of Arpaillargues, that the stranger was killed, for endeavouring, at the head of armed men, to enter by violence the said commune of Arpaillargues, at the moment when the inhabitants offered to furnish them with every thing they could want, on condition that they should not enter without surrendering their arms; a condition which they would not accept, wishing to enter with their arms. This occasioned the insurrection of the inhabitants, and the death of the stranger. The same statement has been made to us by several inhabitants of the commune." Such was the evidence taken on the spot, and at the time:—the non-deposition of their arms, was further attested by a person worthy of credit, as he was appointed mayor of Arpaillargues after the 100 days, and on the second return of the Bourbons.

Bertrand, the catholic instigator, fled, was accused of contumacy and acquitted, is at liberty, and has not been subjected to any interrogation as to the cause of all the mischief he occasioned. Eleven villagers were prosecuted in 1816, and, after fifteen months' imprisonment, eight were condemned to death—one to be branded and sent to the galleys for life—one was remanded on another indictment—and the eleventh was acquitted; but he was a catholic, and the only

catholic who was in any way troubled by the legal authorities on account of this affair. After stating these facts, remarks are unnecessary.

The reports of the dispositions and conduct of the royal volunteers excited general alarm. When they approached the commune of Serviers, the *générale* was beat, the tocsin sounded, and a great number of peasants from the neighbouring villages, (Foissac, Euzet, Baron, Montaren, and Valence,) were collected. A company of the royal volunteers appeared in arms, on their way to Alais; but as they made no resistance, they were allowed to pass without difficulty. Amidst the mass of persons collected on such occasions, it was impossible to prevent irregularities; without the slightest political feeling, individuals always mingle in crowds, for the sake of plunder, or the gratification of their passions.

On the second restoration, the circumstance which occurred at Serviers was represented in the most horrid colours, and informations were laid against fourteen or fifteen inhabitants of the commune. The peaceable rustics, summoned from their occupations by the tocsin, and headed by the mayor, were charged, as highwaymen, "*des voleurs de grand chemin*," and liable to be sentenced to the hot iron, the galleys for life, and even the guillotine. After languishing in prison for several months, they entreated the judgment of the *Cour Royale*. Ten, out of fourteen, were honourably liberated: four, were sent before the tribunal of cor-

rectional police for the arrondissement of Vigan. Two of the four, Arvieux and Platon, were fully acquitted, and the remaining two were criminated — one, for having thrown stones, and the other, for having taken a great coat. The sentence of the court acknowledged, “that, besides the armed state of the disbanded soldiers, the reports, which were circulated in the district, induced the ignorant people, always easily excited, to see in every volunteer a dangerous enemy.”

At Mas de Marceau, four volunteers were actually robbed of a watch, wearing apparel, and other articles, which they had in their knapsacks. M. Degosse, a farmer, who arrived at the time, made the men restore the stolen property; but this voluntary restitution did not prevent subsequent prosecution and heavy punishment. Two of the persons accused of the theft were condemned to imprisonment for two years, and two more were condemned to the pillory and confinement for five years. It is therefore evident, that if protestants or others had committed crimes, the law was equal to the punishment of all offences; and that, while such severe sentences could be easily obtained against individuals, charged with the slightest breach of order, there could be no pretext for those massacres which threatened the extermination of the whole communion.

These are the only facts which the most malicious and powerful hostility could torture into

grounds of accusation in the two arrondissements of Alais and Uzès.

The arrondissement of Vigan did not furnish one legal prosecution, to those, who seized on the slightest circumstance as an occasion for sending the protestants to trial, for the worst of crimes.

The fourth, and only remaining arrondissement of the department, that of Nismes, was far more fruitful of kindness than cruelty, to the imprudent or treacherous volunteers.

At Vauvert, the chief town of that part of this arrondissement called Le Vaunage, four-fifths of the inhabitants are protestants ; but the imperial government was not acknowledged there, till after its establishment at Nismes, and in consequence of orders which it was impossible to evade.

The capitulation of La Palud was known at Vauvert ; and reports arrived from the neighbouring communes of the bad conduct of the disbanded volunteers. M. Maurin, who had been mayor sixteen years, as a measure of safety, appointed parties of patroles, with special orders not to go beyond the territory of Vauvert. One of the parties exceeded its commission, and, at the canal, about a league distant, fell in with several boats containing royal volunteers. They stopped them, and seized their horses and baggage, with the intention of conducting them to Vauvert. Intelligence of the circumstance was received at the mayoralty, and the mayor



sent a number of the respectable inhabitants to the spot, under the command of one of his assistants. On their arrival, the military were liberated, every thing was restored to them, except the cover of a drum, which was lost, and they departed without the slightest ill usage.

Another patrol arrested four more volunteers, who were returning into the department of l'Herault. The prisoners were quietly conducted to the mayoralty. The mayor and his assistant, who held permanent sittings, received them in the most friendly manner, gave them their breakfast, and sent an escort of national guards with them to the limits of the commune, that they might not experience any inconvenience. Vauvert has, notwithstanding, been described as the den of cannibals; and every sort of provocation has been employed, though in vain, to excite the protestants of that commune to acts of hostility.

A circumstance occurred, near Nismes, which became the subject of a most extraordinary judicial proceeding. I shall defer the recital of the judicial details, till I arrive at the period when they took place, and only generally state the fact.

A few days after the capitulation, four persons of Nismes, who had been quail-shooting, met some royal volunteers at Mas d'Assas, armed, and adorned with *fleurs-de-lis*. As much for the security of the volunteers themselves, as from other motives, they deprived them of their arms and decorations, and deposited them at the

municipality: nothing further passed, no complaints were heard, and the *rencontre* was scarcely known. But when the 100 days were ended, prosecutions were commenced against the four astonished sportsmen. Three out of the four, knowing the sort of justice that prevailed, fled in terror, and were condemned for contumacy. The fourth, the Sieur Sayen, sixty years of age, in easy circumstances, and of spotless reputation, was found guilty of robbery by a jury of those times, without the shadow of proof, and condemned to pass his days in a felon's prison, and to expose his grey hairs on the infamous pillory. After the royal ordonnance of September 5. 1815, his three companions put themselves on their trial, and were fully acquitted.

Such is the true history of the pretended massacres, robberies, and cruelties committed by the protestants, and alleged, in justification of the persecution, they were compelled to endure. Before Pont St. Esprit, some of the volunteers were plundered by the force opposed to them. It was in a catholic country, and in the department Vaucluse. At Arpaillargues, two persons were killed and two wounded, because they insisted on entering the village in a hostile manner. Some disbanded soldiers were disarmed according to the treaty, and others were kindly and generously protected. As for the bodies buried in the vineyards, and the wells choked with the dead, they have never been

discovered. No citizens have been lost, and, of course, no carcasses have been found. Never was imposition more gross and absurd. \*

In Nismes itself, not a single life was lost, not a drop of blood spilt, not a single house pilaged, during the hundred days; and though circumstances rendered extremely delicate the duty of the civil powers, persons and property were universally respected. Only four of the most notorious disturbers of the peace were punished, or rather prevented from doing mischief. These four were Lavondés, Vampère, Souchon, and Terme. They had recommenced the excesses, for which, at the time of the first

\* If additional testimony were necessary, the debate in the Chamber of Deputies, April the 25th 1820, on the important petition of M. Madier de Montjau, might be produced. On that occasion M. St. Aulaire, one of the deputies from the department of the Gard, the father-in-law of M. Decazes, and in constant and intimate relations with his majesty Louis XVIII., made the following declaration:—

“ When the crimes of 1815 were committed, a general sentiment of indignation ought to have been expressed against such atrocities; but the party, of which I speak, pretended, for a long time, to deny their existence, and endeavoured to have it believed, that the crimes of 1815, were only the effect of the reprisals of cruelties committed in the 100 days. This allegation is destroyed by facts. During the 100 days, not a *drop of blood was shed* in the department of the Gard. I mistake; three volunteers were massacred at Arpaillargues, but they were killed with arms in their hands, and contending also against an armed force. I do not pretend to say that there is a conspiracy, but there is a sort of *league*, and I employ this word, because it describes, to the life, the state of the department.”

restoration, they had been banished the city, as has been already mentioned, by M. Latour Maubourg, then royal commissioner, since ambassador to the court of St. James's, and now minister of war. Their punishment was only surveillance of the police in different districts; and even this was not an act of the protestants, but the *arrêté* of the catholic prefect, announced every where with the utmost publicity.

The Urban guard, consisting of 600 men, of both religions, though principally protestants at this date, because many of the catholics had left their homes to follow the royal army, preserved order in the city, and especially merited general gratitude, for protecting the fanatics of 1814, who experienced none of those evils which they had been so eager to inflict on others. Their expeditions to Gilles and Bouilargues have been perverted, as well as every other event of the same period.

Those expeditions were, in fact, ordered by the general government. Every department was required to pursue deserters, collect conscripts, and dissolve armed bodies. The decree of the prefect of the Gard, of the 15th of May, entirely disculpates the protestant mayor of Nismes, who, confining himself to his own duties, endangered his life by the most minute and indefatigable exertions. It is certain that, in those places, and throughout the department, agents were constantly employed in arranging plans and securing resources for the commence-

ment of civil war \* ; and it was necessary for the existing government to disturb and derange their operations. Detachments of the Urban guard were ordered by Maréchal de Camp Moulmont, commandant of the department, to march with the troops of the line to search for deserters, collect conscripts, and disperse parties of those, who were liable to the conscription, but who were armed against the government. M. Nicolas, a protestant, who went to St. Gilles on private business, was attacked by these parties, and left for dead. He survived, but his wounds have been productive of consequences from which he will never recover. The malcontents became daily more numerous and more formidable ; and, the better to effect their dispersion, some of the leaders were seized, and others were disarmed. M. Baron, who obtained from Napoleon the place of counsellor to the Imperial court, and afterwards proposed the vow of the silver child in favour of the Duchess d'Angoulême, and denounced the protestant secretary of the minister of the interior to the bishops of France, was discovered at the bottom of an old wine tun. He was considered as a chief of the catholic royalists ; and, as he was conveyed to Nismes, the populace threw stones at his carriage, and vented their feelings in abusive language. The protestant officers protected him from injury. When he arrived at the barriers, M. Trinquelague, son

\* See page 170.

of the celebrated Trinquelague, (both enriched by Napoleon,) who had married his daughter, met him, and entered the city in the voiture, with his wife and his father-in-law.

There was no town in the department, where violence and intrigue might more properly have been expected, than at St. Gilles. M. Jules de Calvière, whom we shall soon see a zealous royalist and prefect of the Gard, had been many years, mayor under Buonaparte, his most devoted servant, and eminent for the rigour with which he enforced the laws of conscription. And even allowing, for the sake of argument, that the soldiers of the Urban guard, conducted themselves improperly, the protestants formed only a part of the guard, and of the guard only a detachment was employed on this particular service.

But after all, who were the principal administrators in the city, and in the department, at this period? The prefect was a catholic. The sub-prefect, a protestant, gave in his resignation. The presidents and members of the tribunals, who had been nominated by Napoleon, and had taken the oath of allegiance to Louis XVIII. had sworn a second time fidelity to the emperor.

The *Cour Royale* consisted of forty members; only one was a protestant, and he was not in the city, did not take the oath, and, of course, had no share in public business. Moreau, director of the national domains; Rome, (*cidevant* abbé) director of the droits Réunis;

Vilardeau, director of the post-office ; Giraudy, keeper of the mortgage-deeds, &c. all catholics, appointed to their places by Napoleon, and continued on their oath of adherence to the king, had resumed the oath of allegiance to their first master. M. d'Aunant, the mayor, was maintained in his functions, or rather he devoted himself, for the happiness of his fellow-citizens, and passed a difficult season, in constantly opposing all rigorous measures. Indeed, so little were the catholics or the royalists oppressed by him, that the agents of Buonaparte denounced him repeatedly to the ministry as a royalist, for the moderation he evinced on the return of the emperor, and for the attachment of his sons to the Bourbons ; one having followed the Duke d'Angoulême, and the other having cried out, at the head of his company, "*Vive le roi !*" The dismissal of M. d'Aunant, the mayor, was hourly expected. The command of the 9th military division, in which Nismes is included, had fortunately been given to General Gilly, a catholic, and a Languedocian by birth, residence, and property ; amiable and benevolent in his disposition, endowed with superior talents, possessing general confidence, and incapable of cruelty or despotism.

It is not my business to balance the account between the royalists and the imperialists, or the admirers of restored Louis, or returned Napoleon. I have to record the conduct of the protestants, to vindicate their innocence, to

prove that their sufferings were unmerited ; that they were not engaged in political plots, and that they were persecuted, for the profession of those enlightened principles, which are the basis of the system of the reformed churches of France. I have therefore traced the political, judicial, and civil authority, and found it in the hands of the catholics.

Before I proceed to the fall of Napoleon, and what has been called “the re-action of the catholics,” I shall notice the project of federation, which, though never realized, was charged on the protestants as a political crime of the greatest magnitude. Towards the end of May, 1815, a federative association, similar to those of Lyons, Grenoble, Paris, Avignon, and Montpellier, was desired by many persons at Nismes. The resemblance of these affiliations to those of 1793, alarmed the friends of constitutional principles, who had lost at that epoch their dearest relatives, and had themselves escaped with difficulty the revolutionary scaffold. They forgot, that, though the organization might be analogous, the circumstances were altogether different, and the excitement was wanting. Their fears were, at least, natural, and their motives were highly meritorious. They rallied, and succeeded in giving such a tone to public opinion, that the federative engagement, adopted and published, was expressly an obligation to “unite for the maintenance of order, the protection of persons and property, and the support of the laws and public authorities.” This reso-



lution was deposited at the Hôtel de Ville, and the inhabitants were invited by public and official notices to affix their signatures. More than 2500 persons, of all religious persuasions, and of all classes, subscribed their names :—the mayor and his adjuncts ; M. Seyne, a protestant, who had received from Monsieur the cross of the Légion d'Honneur ; Moreau, Rome, Vilardeau, catholics in the first offices for the conservation of property ; the first commercial houses ; the richest proprietors ; physicians, advocates, attornies, notaries, and magistrates signed indiscriminately, as all equally concerned in the preservation of order and tranquillity. The mayor summoned all the subscribers to meet for the election of a commission of management, of six members. The ballot was open two days, in the presence of the municipal officers. Of the six commissioners elected, three had been condemned to the guillotine, as favourers of royalty ; and one of these, M. Blanc Pascal, a catholic, was chosen president. In 1793, M. Blanc was put "*hors la loi*," his property was sold, and his wife was imprisoned ten months.

The proceedings were ratified by the prefect on the 13th of June, and on the 14th the commissioners assembled at the Hôtel de Ville ; and, in order to procrastinate, resolved to leave the list open eight days, for the convenience of those who might wish to add their signatures. They were urged to call a general meeting, to form and to arm the different companies, but,

under pretence of demanding authority from the ministers of the interior and of police, they remained inactive, waiting the issue of the tremendous conflict, to which the attention of all Europe was now directed.

In the mean time, the department became every day more and more agitated. Companies of royal volunteers were already collected at Beaucaire, four leagues from Nismes, under the direction of M. René de Bernis, (appointed extraordinary commissioner by the Duke d'Angoulême,) M. Jules de Calvière, provisional prefect, and M. Vidal, entitled commissary-general of police. "I received," says M. René de Bernis, "on the 3d of June, the order to enter France, signed by the hand of the Duke d'Angoulême, at Figuières in Spain. My mission was, to exercise the functions of extraordinary royal commissioner in the Gard and the Lozère; to unite the royal volunteers; to replace the authorities appointed by Buonaparte; and to establish every where the authority of the king by force of arms, if voluntary submission was not offered. The Marquis de Montcalm and his brother went to Montpellier; and M. de Calvière and I proceeded to Lunel.

"At this period, the 16th of June, the power of Buonaparte was not shaken on any point; the agents and functionaries nominated by him were all powerful. If they knew in the north, that in a few days a great battle might decide the fate of Europe, the chance was thought to be in

favour of Buonaparte ; but, in the south, it was hardly ascertained that he had left the capital, to put himself at the head of the army. Our mission *could not be pacific* : it was not to introduce gently the authority of the king, but to assemble the royalists, arm them, create soldiers, and change the established order of things. We should have betrayed our trust had we waited for times and circumstances.

“The royal volunteers expected with impatience the moment of re-appearing in arms. They had chiefs who watched over them, and furnished them with the means of subsistence in their retirement, procured them arms and ammunition, and promised them the speedy return of the king. Viscount Henri de Bernis had brought back from the Vivarais, those whom he had commanded in April, under the Duke d’Angoulême. He retired with them to the farms in the neighbourhood of Nismes ; he had their entire confidence ; they were ready to take the field, and the greatest difficulty was to restrain their ardour.

“On the 25th of June, while they debated at Paris to whom to offer the finest crown in the world, and only excepted the lawful possessor, the town of Beaucaire recognised its legitimate sovereign, and spontaneously hoisted the white flag. Aiguemortes made its insurrectional movements on the 27th. The garrison was surprised, disarmed, and the commandant and several other persons were made prisoners.”

Such is the account of M. de Bernis. While these intrigues and exertions were in full operation, it is not surprising that the existing authorities thought them worthy of vigilant, though, as it appears, inadequate attention, or that the detachments, which have been mentioned, should have visited some of their most celebrated rendezvous. Nor would it have been either extraordinary or improper, if the fédérés had taken arms, put themselves in motion and attacked the enemies of peace and the authors of civil war. But instead of this, on the 28th of June, the prefect convened the civil and military authorities, and many of the most respectable inhabitants, among whom, were two of the commissioners of the federation. Already the houses of the protestants in the country had been pillaged. The domain of M. Peyron, a farmer at Broussan, of M. Jalaguier at Bivos, of M. Seyne at Bosc, of M. Breton at Rome, and M. Maigre at Campuget had been ravaged, the cattle stolen, and the produce carried off. During the 100 days, M. Maigre had been lavish of good offices to M. Lavalette, a chevalier of St. Louis, a decided royalist, and a “*bon catholique*.” M. L. had the mortification in return, to see a fanatical horde plunder and destroy the property of his friend, to the sound of “*Vive le Roi!*”

At the meeting of the 28th, the prefect, full of anxiety, wished to ascertain what measures could be adopted to prevent civil war, and arrest the evils which had in fact commenced. After the

discussion of different plans, the commissioners of the federation demanded the permanent activity of the municipal council, and declared their commission, and consequently the federation dissolved.

The next day, the 29th, this plan was carried into effect, and the declaration of dissolution was repeated to the mayor and the prefect, by all the six commissioners. Thus expired the federation of Nismes, after an ephemeral and illusory existence of fourteen days. No companies were organised, no arms were distributed, no act was committed, nor even a general meeting held ; but the commissioners had done all in their power to prevent a shock, and to avoid the calamities of civil anarchy.

With what justice the protestants were accused of a rebellious union, it is not difficult to decide, when the federation, existing only in theory, was composed indifferently of catholics and protestants, and presided by a catholic and a magistrate. To me it is astonishing, that the protestants, as a body, should have preserved their temper and discretion under so many and so bitter provocations, and have displayed a degree of patience, which even still greater injuries could not exhaust.

The army of Beaucaire continued its depredations, and prepared the attack which the catholics were destined to make on the calvinists ; an attack, the more terrible, as the chiefs, in gratifying their ambition and malevolence, assumed the purest royalism and religion, and, pretend-

ing liberality, employed as their instruments, men, previously, and systematically heated by fanaticism. It was of no consequence whether the protestants were royalists or republicans, it mattered not whether they were pious or profane; they were religionists — their profession was identified with certain principles, enlightened and independent, and which always give men an importance and a moral ascendancy in society — with that reformation, which was the signal for civil as well as religious freedom — and in the south of France, with long, obstinate, and bloody conflicts. Their religion, whether they possessed all its vitality and excellency or not, was, therefore, the object of jealousy to ambitious and despotic politicians, and the most fit theme of excitement to violent and malignant passions.

M. VIDAL, so prominent in the history of 1790, was now invested with an office, in its very nature despotic and inquisitorial, new in the department, and utterly incompatible with the charter. He was commissary-general of police. In 1789 he appeared as the most zealous antagonist of the aristocratic nobles and priests, in the hope of being nominated to the states-general; disappointed of this object, he began to regret the civil existence of the protestants, by which, some of their body were rendered eligible, while he was excluded from the deputation. In 1790 he joined the party, who attempted to massacre the protestants, under pretence of royalism; but again defeated, he quitted Nismes

loaded with disgrace, and went to figure among the jacobins. It is said that, in 1793, he was a member of a revolutionary committee. In the years 1794 and 1795, he made a fortune under the patronage of the commissioners of the convention, as contractor to the army of the north. He afterwards returned to Nismes, and lived in comparative obscurity, till the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, when, with his friend Froment, he endeavoured to collect the wrecks of the old party, and to excite the populace to assault the protestants. His Royal Highness found him a most zealous servant, and two of his sons joined the royal army. When Napoleon returned, he retired to his country-house, and after employing himself actively in all the intrigues that agitated the department, he re-appeared as an inquisitor. His artifice was proverbial, his experience gave him an ascendancy over his colleagues, and his general character was unpropitious; if conciliation or sincerity were intended, a more unfortunate arrangement could not have been made: the protestants regarded him with the greatest alarm.

M. Jules de Calvière, appointed prefect, had been, for some years, mayor of St. Gilles. Nominated to that post by Napoleon, he had gained celebrity by his rigorous application of the laws relative to conscription, and had proved himself the ready tool of commanding despotism.

M. Comte René de Bernis, the extraordinary commissioner of the Duke D'Angoulême, was

nearly related to the bishop of the same name, who received the cardinal's hat in 1817. If M. René de Bernis was not elevated by the emperor, it was not his fault ; for he was several years captain of the Urban guard under Napoleon, and in 1809, when a guard of honour was formed at Nismes, to receive his majesty on his route from Spain, he earnestly solicited the favour of being one of its officers.

These were the persons to whom the peace of the department, the reputation of the king, and the lives and property of the protestants, were primarily and principally committed, and who are immediately responsible, for the murders and horrors, that were so soon commenced and so long continued.

It is true they devolved the military command on M. de Barré, a protestant, but a protestant selected by them on purpose to mystify their proceedings ; a mere instrument in their hands — without consideration or confidence among his brethren — and only holding the rank of captain in the army. The choice was a jesuitical artifice, but too gross, to deceive even the most ignorant of those, on whom it was intended to operate.

Had these persons been only anxious for the restoration of the Bourbons, they must have been satisfied, that success was nearly certain, and have known, that if doubtful, their efforts were useless. The battle was already fought. It was in Belgium, and not in Languedoc, that the fate of



France was decided. Had the protestants united in hostility, they might have prolonged a hopeless struggle, but all Europe was in march, and even the mountains of the Cevennes would have afforded but a momentary security. The protestants, on the contrary, were not disposed to contend. The abortion of federalism proved, that Napoleon was not sufficiently improved by experience and adversity, to merit their confidence, and excite their enthusiasm.

It was something more than the power of the Bourbons, which the pure catholics desired; they wished to make themselves of essential importance; they wished to excite revolt, to have the honour of suppressing it. If the south passed quietly under the sceptre of Louis XVIII. they would be of no consequence; but a religious war, and a civil conflict, might identify them indissolubly with the catholic princes.

Nismes was placed in a state of defence against the sudden inundation of a horde of the lowest and most abandoned of the people. Maréchal Moulmont, a catholic, made requisitions of national guards from the neighbouring communes, as a measure of precaution, not of hostility, and published a proclamation. "Let not men blinded by passion," said he, "render you the instruments of their vengeance. They deceive you, they call on you to arm against your brethren, and tell you that the national guards, collected to watch against their criminal projects, are of a *different religion* from your-

selves. Listen to my voice, I can have no interest but yours. I desire your tranquillity. My efforts shall guarantee the free exercise of your rights, whatever may be your religious or political opinions. While obedient to the laws, I see in you, only friends and Frenchmen. Return then to your homes; resume the labours of your fields; your fine harvests suffer from your absence; they want your hands, which are not accustomed to murder, and which can never be lifted without shame, but against invading foreigners. Do not moisten the soil of your country, with the blood of brethren, children, friends."

The prefect, M. Roggieri, a catholic, addressed the department in similar accents of conciliation. "Every one," said he, "ought to know, that it is not by cries against the existing power or new rallying signs, that the fate of France is to be decided; it is necessary to refer that, to the wisdom of the two chambers and the government, and to abstain from every act which will provoke re-action, and excite dangerous disturbances." Unhappily! these peaceful exhortations were met by fulminating proclamations, on the part of the faction at Beaucaire: their hostile exertions corresponded with their manifestoes, and they "pushed their parties so near the walls of Nismes," says M. de Bernis, "as to alarm the inhabitants." They made application also to the English, off Marseilles, for assistance, and obtained the grant of 1000

muskets, 1000 cartouch boxes, and 10,000 cartouches. How little did the protestants of England imagine, that their arms and money were destined to ensure the massacre of the protestants of France !

On the 3d of July, they proclaimed war. “ The king has sent us among you, to terminate your misfortunes. Civil war reigns in your country : we come to restore peace and order. (Compare this declaration with that of M. Bernis already quoted : ‘ Our mission *could not be pacific*, it was to assemble royalists, create soldiers, and change the established order of things.’) Woe to those who repulse the legitimate sovereign, called by all France, and who alone can reconcile her with Europe. We bring you, in his name, words of clemency and love. Federates, (already entirely dissolved, — never in activity, and only associated for the preservation of order,) break the ties which unite you in a guilty compact, and hold you in revolt. Longer obstinacy will deprive you of the clemency of the best of kings, and deliver you to the severest justice,” &c.

This address was followed by another, proclaiming new authorities for the whole department ; rendering every receiver of revenue responsible to the commissioners ; requiring the surrender of arms ; ordering all national guards to disband, under pain of being arrested, taken before a court martial, and shot within twenty-four hours ; and denouncing, as enemies of the

king, and traitors liable to instant punishment, all who should hesitate to obey these horrid mandates.

At this period, the capitulation of Paris was unknown, and much less the entry of the king within the frontiers of France. The orders, of these terrible commissioners, were therefore most unsuitable, premature, and criminal. To demand the produce of the revenue, was a public robbery, and to execute martial law, was to commit deliberate murder. More could not have been said, had the king been in his palace, the imperial government every where rejected, the royal authority universally acknowledged, and the Gard the only department in rebellion; whereas, with the exception of Marseilles, where the English had appeared, not one city, in the south of France, had raised the standard of the Bourbons.

General Gilly, who commanded the ninth military division, no sooner ascertained this determined and atrocious hostility, than he left Montpellier for Nismes. In addition to the national guards assembled by M. Moulmont, and the *gendarmerie* of the department, he collected there a considerable body of troops of the line; and had he attacked the army of Beaucaire, it must have been completely dispersed, or entirely destroyed. But he was aware of the religious fury which was excited, of the importance of being the last to strike, and especially, of the power of the league of foreign sovereigns, which would decide the fate and dispose of the throne of

France, without fresh victims being uselessly immolated in distant Languedoc. It was not till the 5th of July, that he opposed threats as well as entreaties, to the licentious and rebellious progress of the catholic royalists. “My fellow-countrymen,” said he, “deeply afflicted to learn that civil war has commenced on several points, I hasten among you. I am followed by courageous and disciplined troops ; they are supported by a powerful artillery. Nevertheless, it is not my intention to attack you. God forbid that I should be animated by such a sentiment. I come with the words of peace to enlighten you on your true interests, and to conjure all citizens of all parties, all opinions, and all religions, to wait in tranquillity, union, and fraternity, the result of the negociations that are to fix our destiny. In fact, to what can those tumultuous movements, which will terminate in the murder of each other, lead? They will not change, in the slightest degree, the events which we can neither foresee, hinder, nor modify. It is your duty, then, to wait with calmness and resignation their arrival, in order to conform to them, whether they favour or wound your opinions and feelings. Fellow-countrymen, my voice has been heard by the inhabitants of Montpellier and the department of L’Herault : individuals and districts, the most divided by opinion, have fraternized ; and I have left that populous city in the most perfect calm. I propose to you this example ; instead of carrying terror

and grief into your families, let general union reign among you. Peace will soon cement it, and open to us a happy futurity. Return to your homes, citizens, whom agitators, without power and without authority, have excited and alarmed. I shall watch over you, and for you. Twenty-four hours hence, I shall march wherever armed assemblages exist, and shall treat as hostile all who shall oppose me."

Alarmed at the position of affairs, the municipal council requested General Gilly to assent to an armistice with the army of Beaucaire; and desirous rather to restrain the public mind, than to exert his military talent and authority, he acquiesced. Deputies went to the chiefs at Beaucaire, and an armistice was signed.

The *in statu quo* was to be observed till it was known at Nismes, either officially or by the journals, that the king had entered Paris and resumed the government; and formal notice was to be given of the renewal of hostilities.\* The original instrument is now in the archives of the municipality. Thus, on the 6th of July, the council, containing several protestants, and among others, M. O'Desmond, president of the consistory, endeavoured to prevent all conflict, and really acknowledged Louis XVIII., by stipulating that they would acknowledge him officially,

\* The deputation appointed to negotiate, by General Gilly and the municipality, was composed of two catholics and one protestant, M. Barre, brother of the officer commanding the army of Beaucaire.

the moment they knew, that he was acknowledged by the capital. Assuredly this was enough ; all that honest royalists and upright catholics would have desired. But what a dull and tame conclusion ! What a disproportion between the facility of success, and the ardour of ambition, and the fury of fanaticism ! The royal army unnecessary, and its ascendancy, by the murder of peaceable citizens, hopeless ! The chiefs of the faction were not thus to be disappointed ; they had gone too far to recede, and they must have security for their future greatness, in the destruction of the professors of the reformed religion.

The armistice continued ; but within, and beyond the line occupied by the catholic party, the protestants were hourly suffering from violence and outrage. Four days passed without intelligence from the North, and the courier passes Nismes to reach Beaucaire : in fact, the post-office of Beaucaire is supplied from Nismes.

Without any fresh information, M. de Bernis wrote to the municipal council on the 10th of July, to announce the commencement of hostilities. M. de Bernis asserted, that the king was in Paris ; but his only reason for this assertion was, that M. Polignac exercised the authority in the name of the king in Dauphiny, supported by the Austrians. A circumstance, which furnished no proof of the establishment of the royal government, for M. de Bernis had professed the same authority in Languedoc, since the begin-

ning of June ; besides, it changed nothing in the Gard on the other side of the Rhone, nor in the armistice, which precisely required the arrival at Nismes of official, or at least public information.

The approach of danger and the violation of good faith, only produced additional evidence of the patience and moderation of the principal inhabitants of Nismes. Had they appealed to General Gilly, put in motion the disposable troops, and summoned the thousands of hardy mountaineers that the Cevennes would have supplied, they might have visited the treachery and cruelty of the faction with sudden and overwhelming destruction. But, on the contrary, the municipal council issued a proclamation, calculated to calm indignation, and to show M. de Bernis, that there was not the slightest occasion for threats or force, as there was no intention to resist the royal authority, the moment its existence was fairly ascertained.

“ Inhabitants of Nismes,” said they, “ you know the spirit which animates us, and the steps we have taken. You know that we have thrown ourselves between two armies, and that our prayers have suspended their strokes. Every thing remains as at the moment when the armistice was signed, and you will wait with patience the issue of the negotiations, which are to decide the lot of all. Let us continue united and tranquil ; let us not abandon ourselves to alarms, which can only create difficulty ; let us redouble our efforts to arrive, without any shock or vio-



lence, at the period which will terminate all uncertainty. You will then see soldiers and citizens rivals in zeal to maintain order and protect property. Fellow-countrymen, of all opinions, for whom we feel equal solicitude, in the name of the exertions we have made, to avert the evils which threaten our country, in the name of your dearest interests, in the name of that God who enjoins, as our first duties, concord and clemency, be not deaf to our voice, do justice to our sentiments; your happiness is the only rule of our conduct.”

This proclamation, signed by protestants and catholics, was sanctioned by the prefect, and approved by General Gilly, the supreme military authority.

At length, in the night of the 14th and 15th, an *estafette* arrived at the prefecture from Baron de Vitrolles, and all uncertainty was terminated. The king had entered Paris on the 8th. Conformably with his declaration to the municipal body, General Gilly immediately prepared to execute the treaty made with the party at Beaucaire. He ordered the troops of the line and the national guards to take the white cockade, and dispatched similar instructions to the citadel of Pont St. Esprit, and to Montpellier, the usual residence of the commandant of the 9th military division; and by two o'clock in the morning of the 15th he had left Nismes, and was on his way to leave a department, where his continuance might have been injurious to others, and danger-

ous to himself. Two dragoons escorted him to a village two leagues distant, and then returned ; and though the enemies of the protestants basely pretended, that he went to rally the peasants of the Gardonnenque, he was never seen by them, nor was he ever known to have appeared where there were the smallest assemblage of persons ; his interest imperatively required that he should quit Languedoc.

Unhappily, the prefect, a catholic, thinking to prepare the public mind, and to avoid the possibility of concussion, delayed, during some hours, to exhibit the white flag at the hotel of the prefecture.

Their bitterest assailants have not ventured to charge the protestants with this event, nor even have the motives of the prefect been impeached. " We are ready to admit," say the officers of the royal troops in their memorial to the king, " that this was done from prudence ; but it followed, that several individuals anticipated the example of the public authorities." Indeed, General Gilly having withdrawn, madness alone could have dictated any further opposition. The well-meant caution of the prefect, produced some of the mischief it was designed to prevent ; for the patrols of the Urban guard not knowing that the white flag was flying at the prefecture, and perceiving a standard in their route, fired at it in order to bring it down, and by accident shot a journeyman-baker, who was standing at his master's door. This accident has been magnified

and misrepresented, while two deliberate murders, which occurred the same evening, have been passed over in perfect silence :—the victims were protestants.

Gibelin was marching with the patrole the usual rounds to preserve order; he was struck by a ball from a musket, fired from the window of a house, and instantly expired. Semelin, another protestant, alarmed at the report, looked out of his window, — received a mortal wound — and died on the spot.

The night passed peaceably, and the secretary of the prefecture finished his arrangements with the mayor, for the inauguration of the royal government. At six o'clock the next morning, the drums beat in the different quarters, and the white flag was raised on all the public edifices, without the slightest opposition.

The civil and military authorities, and the principal inhabitants, repaired to the mayoralty, and proceeded from thence, in a splendid *cortège*, proclaiming Louis XVIII. with all the solemnity that can be imagined. After he had read the proclamation, M. d'Aunant, the mayor, addressed the people. It was by his care, and he was a protestant, that the busts of the king and of the royal family, which had adorned the Hôtel de Ville, were secreted and preserved from the smallest injury during the 100 days. They were now reproduced, and restored to their respective stations.

The oldest inhabitant of Nismes does not

remember an event celebrated with more pomp, than the re-establishment of the Bourbons. The national guards and the *gendarmerie* were all under arms ; martial music, and shouts of “ *Vive le Roi !* ” rent the air ; and the whole was so well regulated, that though the immense crowds of the city, were augmented by multitudes, drawn from the neighbouring communes by curiosity, or more serious motives, there was neither tumult nor confusion. The day closed with a general illumination.

## CHAP. VII.

ROYAL AUTHORITY PEACEABLY ESTABLISHED. — PROTESTANTS SURRENDER THEIR ARMS TO THE POPULACE. — BANDS FROM BEUCAIRE JOIN TRESTAILLON AND ATTACK THE BARRACKS. — THE TOCSIN SOUNDED. — GARRISON CAPITULATES. — MASSACRE OF UNARMED SOLDIERS. — NISMES IN A STATE OF ASSAULT. — MURDER OF HUGUES, AND DEATH OF HIS WIFE. — LADET BURNT ALIVE. — IMBERT, AND FOUR MORE OF THE CHIVAS FAMILY, MURDERED. — ARRIVAL OF M. VIDAL AND THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS WITH GREEN AND WHITE COCKADES. — SANGUINARY HORDES ENTER AND PLUNDER. — GENERAL EMIGRATION. — DECREE OF SEQUESTRATION. — DECEITFUL PROCLAMATIONS. — PLUNDER CONTINUED. — WIDOW PERRIN'S FAMILY AND M. NEGRE'S DAUGHTER EXHUMED. — MORE MASSACRES. — M. JOUQUES APPOINTED PREFECT. — OBLIGED TO RETIRE. — MURDERS RE-COMMENCE. — MISCHIEVOUS PROCLAMATIONS. — COURT MARTIAL CONDEMNS DEFERAL. — UNRESTRAINED PILLAGE. — THE PASTORS AND CONSISTORY SCATTERED. — CALUMNIES PROPAGATED BY THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL. — FURIOUS ADDRESSES. — PETITION OF THE PROTESTANTS. — DETAILS OF THE OBSCENE AND CRUEL TREATMENT OF PROTESTANT FEMALES. — SEVERAL PERISH. — STATE OF THE ARMED FORCE. — RETURN OF M. JOUQUES; IN FAVOUR WITH THE PEOPLE. — MURDERS OF THE DAMES BIGOT, BOSCH, AND MANY OTHER PROTESTANTS. — PARTIES OF TWO AND THREE HUNDRED PILLAGE AT DISCRETION. — EMIGRATION AND TERROR PREVENT THE PROTESTANTS FROM ATTENDING THE ELECTION OF DEPUTIES. — FOUR CATHOLICS CHOSEN. — ORDER FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF THE FÊTE OF ST. LOUIS. — ARRIVAL OF THE AUSTRIANS. — ASSASSINATION OF M. PERRIER. — THREE PROTESTANTS OF NERS SHOT AT NISMES. — PROCLAMATION BY THE PREFECT. — INVASION OF THE SPANIARDS, AND MARCH OF

THE CATHOLICS TO MONTPELLIER. — PROTESTANT COMMUNES DISARMED BY THE AUSTRIANS. — TESTIMONY OF THE AUSTRIANS IN THEIR FAVOUR. — MEMORIALS TO LOUIS XVIII. — THE BULL-FIGHT. — PROCLAMATIONS BY THE KING, &c. — MASSACRE AND PLUNDER RENEWED.

ALL that sincere royalism could desire, was accomplished, accomplished without commotion, without the interference of the crusaders of Beaucaire, without that civil war, which they had so long and so studiously prepared. But this was precisely the result which they dreaded. They wanted resistance, violence, proscription, and death. The next day, the municipality were occupied in organising the national guard, and were about to communicate their arrangements to the commissioners at Beaucaire, when the rabble of Nismes, and those who had arrived in the city, heard the report, and immediately demanded the arms of the national guard. The most timid, hastened to carry theirs to the municipality, and rivalled each other in anxiety to rid themselves of every thing that could give umbrage to their designing adversaries. Blind to future evils, and the absolute necessity of being prepared for self defence, they thus abandoned the only means which could afford security to themselves and their persecuted brethren. Bands of dirty, ragged, and ferocious wretches went from house to house, and required, in the name of the commandant, M. Moulmont, and as though legally authorised, arms and uniforms, which, in a great many instances, were the private property of the

individuals. Force was employed if necessary ; but in general no resistance was offered ; and the women and children, terrified by these savages, gave them the clothes and arms of their fathers and husbands, to prevent immediate mischief. In a few hours the guard was entirely disarmed, and many had fled, while the weapons designed to protect the city, passed from persons of wealth and influence into the hands of a fanatical and furious mob. It must be observed, that there existed no order for the surrender of these arms ; that the bands from Beaucaire had not yet arrived ; and that it was therefore a voluntary relinquishment of their rights and their property to an unarmed populace, that attested the indisposition of the national guards to rebellion or conflict.

General Gilly had left the department several days — the troops of the line, who remained, had taken the white cockade, and waited further orders — and the royal commissioners had only to proclaim the cessation of all hostilities and the complete establishment of the authority of the king. Alas ! no commissioners appeared, no dispatches arrived to calm and regulate the public mind ; but towards evening, the advanced guard of the banditti, to the amount of several hundreds, entered Nismes undesired but unopposed. Marching without order or discipline — covered with clothes or rags of all colours — decorated with cockades, *not white, but white and green* — armed with muskets, sabres, forks, pis-

tols, and reaping hooks — intoxicated with wine, and stained with the blood of protestants whom they had murdered on their route, they presented a most hideous and appalling spectacle.

They proceeded to the open place in front of the barracks, and were joined by all the armed mob of the city, headed by Jacques Dupont, commonly called Trestaillon.

It was not without advice that they assembled on this spot. The barracks contained artillery, and their first act was to demand its surrender. General Moulmont knew too well his duty to the king and to humanity, to place such dreadful engines in the power of a licentious and apparently unauthorised rabble; but he immediately applied to the mayoralty, and requested that some respectable citizens might be appointed, to receive the artillery *en dépôt*, till the arrival of the royal commissioners. The fanatics, on the contrary, insisted on its being removed to the amphitheatre, and placed under the safeguard of “the people.”

“The people, (for it is thus that M. de Bernis and the ultra royalists, in the language of Robespierre and Marat, describe their own mob,) and the chiefs whom they had chosen,” determined to attack the barracks and force the gates. Four thousand men surrounded the building, and kept up an incessant fire through the grating of the windows and every aperture they could find, on about 200 soldiers which the barracks contained. The military endured for a long time, and with



extraordinary and exemplary patience ; and at length, in the hope of intimidating a blood-thirsty populace, returned (as I was assured by several most respectable inhabitants) only a few shots through the bars of the windows. They had five pieces of cannon, and in as many minutes, could have mowed down hundreds of their enemies ; but these enemies were fellow-citizens, and they were reluctant to open on them a destructive battery. The few musket-shots they fired had considerable effect ; some of the assailants felt the wounds they wished to inflict, and “ the people ” fled from the open space, to take refuge under the cover of the houses, which formed the surrounding streets. Twice, the mayor, with the insignia of his office, threw himself into the thickest of the danger ; but though he hazarded his life, and the fire was suspended, he could neither disperse nor calm the crowds. On the contrary, from nine till twelve, the tocsin sounded from all the churches, and immense numbers of the neighbouring villagers, zealous catholics, deluded by the false alarm, continued to arrive during the night and the next day, imagining that the catholics were being murdered by an insurrection of the protestants.

In the meantime a negotiation was carried on between the mayor, General Moulmont, and a Monsieur Layne, who had arrived from Beaucaire, in consequence of a dispatch from the municipality, representing the disturbed state of

the city. The proposal of M. Moulmont was simple and just. He offered to surrender the artillery immediately to M. Layne, provided the garrison were allowed to march out with the honors of war, and to wait, at any appointed place, the orders of the royal commissioners. This appeared the more equitable, as the soldiers had acknowledged Louis XVIII. the moment they had received orders ; had not even hesitated to take the white cockade ; and had not given the smallest pretext for hostile treatment. Unfortunately, M. Layne, either because he had secret orders, or because he wished to gratify " the people," rejected these honourable terms. He would not even consent, that the garrison should march out with arms and baggage, to a valley about a league distant, and there be disarmed and disbanded. The general, at length, accepted the only terms which would be granted, " that the garrison should leave the barracks at break of day, surrender their arms in the courtyard, and take the road to Uzès." The soldiers felt so deeply the disgrace and unreasonableness of such a capitulation, to a populace which had been terrified and scattered by a few chance shots, that, at first, they refused to submit ; but the commandant representing to them, that however humiliating it might appear to them, as soldiers, to lay down their arms ; as citizens, they acted gloriously, in preventing the effusion of blood, between children of the same country, they finally acquiesced ; and instead of retiring under cover of their arms and artillery, they

trusted their lives to those Frenchmen, to spare whose blood, they had sacrificed their honour, and had accepted terms, which a foreign enemy would not have dared to dictate. While this negotiation was in progress, the frenzied multitude spread themselves through the streets, and plundered and massacred, in spite of the tears and cries of women and children, and as though the city had been taken by assault.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 18th of July, the garrison was in motion. M. Layne having placed the dismounted *gendarmes* before the barracks, to form the escort promised by the capitulation, entered the yard.

On his part, M. Moulmont fulfilled every article, with the greatest precision ; the arms were piled, and the gates opened for the soldiers to pursue their route for Uzès. They marched out in double files, sad and defenceless ; — but when about fifty had passed, the religious heroes of Beaucaire and their companions of Nismes, commenced a tremendous fire on their confiding and unprotected victims ; nearly all were killed or wounded, and but very few could re-enter the yard before the garrison closed again the gates. Vain and momentary refuge : in an instant the gates were forced, and “ the people and the chiefs whom they had chosen,” massacred all who were unable to climb over roofs, or leap into the adjoining gardens. Many endeavouring to escape death in one form, met it in another, and encountered it with increased horrors ; and after having broken

their limbs, and lacerated their bodies in jumping from the windows, were barbarously mangled, till their butchers perceived that they were beyond their power, and could suffer no more. Parties were placed at the windmills to watch the back of the barracks ; others were in ambush in a covered road on the way to Uzès, and adjoining the premises of Madame Franc Didièr, who, with a courage, which startled even these monsters, saved several of the miserable fugitives ; but thus surrounded, hunted and pursued, few escaped instant death, mortal wounds, or lasting injury.

The arm of the Colonel was broken by a ball. An officer of artillery, who had avoided the murderers, and just turned the corner of the Hôtel L'Orange, was recognised ; in a moment he was attacked, stripped, pierced by a hundred blows, and killed with cannibal ferocity. The guard of *gendarmes* which had been placed in front of the gates, did not make the least attempt to protect the soldiers or disperse the “ people ;” and yet, when the conquerors had no more regular unarmed troops to destroy, they attacked and disarmed this pretended escort, and wounded and ill treated many of the men. They then took possession of the barracks of the *gendarmerie*, seized all the horses, amounting to fifty-seven, all the clothes and baggage they could find, ransacked the military chest, and burnt the papers. The captain, who had taken refuge in the tower of a church, was betrayed by the man in whom he confided, and dragged to prison.

This atrocious massacre rivals in cruelty, and surpasses in treachery, the crimes of the September assassins of Paris, and the jacobinical butcheries of Lyons and Avignon: it is marked not only by the fervour of the Revolution, but by the subtlety of the League; and it will remain a blot, fresh and ineffaceable, on the history of the second restoration.

But it answered the end: it struck terror into the souls of the protestants; it deprived them of all remaining energy; left them without the faintest hope of military protection; placed all arms, of every description, in the hands of their murderers, and their persons in their power. It was prepared on the model, and perpetrated in the spirit of the St. Bartholomew; and, as in that splendid feat, even catholics were destroyed, rather than the heretics should be protected or preserved. It was, no doubt, because it was so efficient and complete, that M. de Bernis (appointed extraordinary royal commissioner by the Duke d'Angoulême in Spain, on the 3d of June, and afterwards one of the deputies of the department) dismissed the event with more than Spartan brevity. "The barracks capitulated, and *some* soldiers perished; a misfortune which could neither be prevented nor foreseen." He should have added, "nor punished." These are the sentiments of the pure royalists, the pious catholics, who affect to declaim against the profanity and immorality of the age.

Nismes now exhibited a most awful scene of outrage and carnage. During the night, the protestants had been in flight to the Cevennes and the Gardonnenque, and the catholics had been reinforced, by men, who had already imbrued their hands in the blood of Calvinists, and attested their sanctity and loyalty by plunder and conflagration.

Hugues Vallarnoux, of Nismes, had been assassinated at the bridge of Beaucaire, where he was at work. His wife, who was near her confinement, on receiving the intelligence, became delirious: she refused all nourishment, because "her husband did not eat." Her confinement was accelerated, and she died: the infant, whose life was saved, is a spectacle of disease and debility. The four orphans of this unfortunate couple are left entirely destitute

The country houses of Messrs. Rey, Guirat, Caseing, Rafin du Crouset, and Aubanel, had been pillaged or devastated, and the inhabitants treated with wanton barbarity. Two parties had glutted their savage appetites on the farm of Madame Frat. The first, after eating, drinking, breaking the furniture, and stealing what they thought proper, took leave, by announcing the arrival of their comrades, "compared with whom," they said, "they should be thought merciful." Their predictions were fulfilled. Three men and an old woman were left on the premises: at the sight of the second company two of the men fled. The banditti entered the kitchen, seized the old woman, and demanded,

“ Are you catholic ? ” — “ Yes. ” — “ Repeat then your Pater and Ave. ” — Terrified by the recollection of the past, and the apprehension of the future, she hesitated, and instantly was knocked down with a musket. On recovering her senses, she took an opportunity to leave the house, and in going out she met Ladet, the old *valet de ferme*, who was bringing in a salad, which the depredators had ordered him to cut as they entered. She entreated him to fly ; but the old servant, confident in his age and innocence, refused to abandon the property of his employers, and, for the last time, approached the house of his master. — “ Are you a protestant ? ” they exclaimed. “ I am, ” he replied ; and immediately a musket was presented at him, and he fell, wounded, but not dead. To consummate their work, the monsters lighted a fire with straw and boards, threw their yet living victim into the flames, and suffered him to expire in the most dreadful agonies. They then eat their salad, omelette, &c. plundered and ravaged the premises, and proceeded to produce their proofs of affiliation, and to join their loyal and pious brethren at Nismes. The next day some gleaners, seeing the house open and abandoned, entered, and discovered the half-consumed body of Ladet. They immediately informed his widow ; but terror prevented the family from attempting to remove the mutilated remains, and, after several days, when the same gleaners went to inter them, they found the legs partly de-

voured by the dogs. The prefect of the Gard, M. Darbaud Jouques, in attempting to extenuate the crimes of the catholics and the guilt of the authorities, has had the audacity to assert and re-assert that Ladet was a catholic. This declaration may serve to illustrate the value of the prefect's testimony, and the extent of his knowledge and veracity. Two of the pastors of Nismes have exposed the falsehood of the statement, and publicly contradicted this apologist of the most atrocious actions:—

“ I declare that Ladet was a protestant, and that all his family are protestants. His mother, his sister, and his children can attest my declaration.

“ JUILLERAT.”

“ The undersigned certifies, that he has made the fullest enquiries, and attests, that Daniel Ladet, born the 6th January, 1753, and assassinated Monday, July 17th, 1815, has always professed the protestant religion, in which he was born, according to the certificate of Paul Rabaut, pastor.

“ VINCENT.”

Ladet was in his sixty-third year, and has left a widow and four children dependent on the benevolence of the professors of their religion.

Another party committed a dreadful murder at St. Cezaire, adjoining Nismes. Imbert *dit* La Plume, the husband of Suzon Chivas, afraid for his life, had retired to this village, where he hoped he might safely take refuge with a relation. His security was, however, of short



duration. On the 17th or 18th of July he was met, on returning from work in the fields, by one of the bands who were spreading death and devastation. He was immediately seized, and treated with the greatest brutality. He implored mercy, and threw himself before the captain, entreating him to spare his life. The chief promised him protection, and assured him that he should be safely conducted to the prison of Nismes. Imbert readily consented to follow; but it was in vain; their ill-usage continued, and he saw that they were determined to kill him. He was a powerful and courageous man, and resuming his natural character, he advanced, and exclaimed, "You are brigands, fire." Four of them fired, and he fell; but he was not yet dead, and while living, they mutilated his body, and then, passing a cord round it, they drew it along, attached to a cannon, of which they had possession; and thus, his head striking against the brass, the poor wretch endured, before he expired, the most frightful tortures. Monnet, Prad, Sauve, Combe, and Milanés of Bernis, were the assassins.

It was not till after eight days that his relatives were apprized of his death. His widow then went to St. Cezaire, to gain information, and reclaim the body, but she learned, that a worthy proprietor of the village had kindly given it sepulture.

The miseries of the family of Chivas, of which Imbert was a member, have revolted all France. Five individuals of this family, all husbands and

fathers, were massacred in the course of a few days ; and they furnished a specimen of the crimes and horrors with which Nismes was so long visited. I saw the five widows of these murdered protestants in their habiliments of mourning. I heard their sobs, and witnessed their tears and anguish, as they related to me, with all the minuteness and emotion of recent bereavement, the dreadful details of their sufferings. The orphan children mingled their tears with those of their widowed mothers. On one occasion the whole were collected round me ; and never shall I forget what I endured on thus finding myself in the centre of a large groupe of unhappy beings, who had been actors and sufferers in the most tragic scenes.

Claudine, the wife of André Chivas, witnessed the murder of her husband and of her brother-in-law. At five o'clock in the morning, André went to his work, and, alarmed at the dreadful confusion which pervaded the town, and by the threats he had received, he told his wife that it would depend on her reports, during the day, whether he should return home to sleep. As Claudine went into the fields where her husband worked, to take him some soup, she saw a party of armed men at a distance, conducting towards Nismes, a man dressed in blue. They stopped several fugitives who were quitting the city, and with difficulty suffered them to pass. " Save you !" cried one of the men to their prisoner, whom Claudine did not yet recognize, " as for you, you shall be a pillar here, as well

as of the temple ;” and, advancing a few steps, they fired. The shots entered the throat of their victim ; he fell, and expired. Shocked at this deliberate murder, the poor woman shrieked, and reproached the perpetrators with their wickedness and inhumanity. They answered her with the coldest contempt, and the most barbarous irony. She sprang forward ;—and who can conceive her horror when she beheld at her feet the corpse of her husband. Recovering from her consternation, she entreated the assistance of some persons, who passed, to remove the bleeding body ; but, stupified by terror, they refused to render her this sad service, and the unhappy wife was obliged to drag along, in her own arms, the corpse of Chivas. Alone, and covered with blood, she made the most distressing efforts ;—they soon exhausted all her strength, and, sinking with fatigue, she resolved to abandon, for a short time, her precious load. The *fermiér* of a neighbouring farm, touched with her forlorn situation, promised, when his master came, to cover the body with earth. “No,” exclaimed the weeping widow, “let me at least have the consolation of placing it in a coffin ;” and immediately she set out on purpose to procure one in the city. Alas ! she was destined, on this terrible day, to suffer successive trials. On entering the city, she had the misery of being present at the murder of her brother-in-law, Antoine Clot, and was arrested in her course by the spreading calamities of her unhappy family. The wretched Claudine at length left her com-

panions in misfortune, and found courage to pursue her route. The coffin was bought, and, after some difficulty, she procured a *laissez passer*, to seek and inter the corpse of her husband ; but, when she reached the barrier, the wretches who formed the *corps-du-garde* demanded 500 francs for permission to carry out the coffin ; and, after much contention, they obliged the poor woman to pay them twenty. But her cup of affliction was not yet full : scarcely had she interred André in a field, when the barbarians dug up his body, and stript it of the two cloths in which it was enveloped ; nor was it till after some days, that the widow succeeded, in the midst of threats and danger, to re-cover with earth his dishonoured remains. The principal agents in this assassination were Sauve *dit* Galine, and Sauve, junior. They surprised and seized Chivas while working in the vineyard.

Antoine Clot had married a Chivas. About seven in the morning, Trestailon, the chief of these parties, met Clot as he was returning from the threshing floor, and immediately seized him. In vain did one of the friends of the assassins entreat them not to kill him. “ Away with him ; one brigand the less,” was their reply. Clot threw himself at the feet of the monsters. “ In the name of my three children,” said he, “ spare me, I have never injured you.” — “ Say your prayers,” exclaimed the chief, and levelling his carbine over the shoulder of Parrain, a silk-weaver, and a catholic, who had thrown himself

before Clot as an intercessor, he fired, and his victim fell. Looking at his murderer, he said, "God forgive you, as I hope he will me: you have killed the father of a family; I shall often appear before you." — "There is one," interrupted the fiend, "and now let us load for another." He reloaded his piece and walked on. Clot still breathed:—his distracted daughter, thirteen years of age, almost choked by sobs, offered him a little brandy. "*Ma mie*," said her father to her—and he was no more. At this moment the wife reached her husband, and the son knelt beside his dead parent. Miserable family! The son took the body in his arms and carried it to their now dreary home. In the midst of groans and tears, these three distressed mourners dug a grave, and committed it to the earth. But every feeling, and all decency must be outraged: at the moment that they performed this melancholy duty, some of the catholics entered their dwelling, and stripping the body of its winding sheet, they vowed they would drag it to the *voirie*\*, and poured volleys of threats and curses on the distracted widow. She reproached them with their cruelty, and desired them to let her share her husband's fate. It is difficult to account for their refusal, or to imagine by what motives their rage was restrained; but contenting themselves with stealing the funeral cloth, and all the oil

\* A place appointed by law, on the outside the barriers of towns, to receive the carcasses of dead animals, and the ordure of the streets.

the house contained, they departed, and permitted the wretched family to finish the interment of their beloved relative. This murder was committed near the Maison Guizot, Enclos Rey, Section 4.

On the 21st of July, under pretence of searching for arms, a party of these brigands entered the house of David Chivas. His wife in vain assured them that he never had any arms in the house: they made the most vexatious search. David Chivas, who was ill from chagrin and apprehension, and concealed in one of his apartments, heard them approaching, and endeavoured to escape:—he was arrested. “What have I done, my friends?” he exclaimed, “what have I done? At least if you will kill me, for mercy’s sake, kill me in my house, and do not drag me into the street.” His wife supplicated for her husband:—they told them to be quiet, that there was no danger, and that they should only take David to prison. He was in his shirt, and she wished him to put on his waistcoat:—they would not permit him;—“he has no need of a *veste*,” said one of the troop. His death was, in fact, certain, for it was designed. Marie followed her husband at a little distance, and the victim walked before his executioners. In his garden he again entreated them to kill him on the spot, and not deliver him to a furious populace;—they would not listen to him, but he had scarcely taken thirty steps in the street, when they fired on him, and he instantly expired. The murderers abandoned the theatre of this crime, to proceed

to fresh deeds of blood. One of the party only remained, and he refused Marie, the melancholy consolation, of removing the body of her husband. He held her against the wall; and if she advanced a step towards the outstretched corpse he levelled his piece:—she only escaped death, by suddenly darting into the nearest house, and shutting the door. The bleeding carcase was dragged along, and a groupe of armed men fired over it a *feu-de-joie*, and danced around it with ferocious pleasure. The frenzy of the widow, on learning this, was at its height. In vain she demanded the body: it was carried to a considerable distance, and she was threatened. She fled, and abandoned her home: the catholics broke it open with their muskets, and for eight days it was plundered and devastated, with inconceivable fury. David Chivas was killed near the road to Uzès by Truphémey, Rafin, Tissot, Bresson, and others.

On the morning of the 1st of August, the massacres recommenced. Matthieu Clot, the cousin of Jacques Imbert, was sitting quietly in his house, when a band entered and demanded Imbert. Clot refused to inform them where he was to be found, and for some time braved their threats; but to save his life, it was necessary to tell them that Imbert was concealed in his own house. Isabeau Chivas, the wife of Jacques Imbert, was assured by the murder of her brothers, of the fate of her husband. She shut up the house; they demanded the key; she refused:

but as she saw they were about to force the door, and in the hope of softening their rage, she gave up the key, and permitted them to over-run the apartments. Imbert had concealed himself in a loft, and they sought him in vain in every chamber. Disappointed of their prey, their fury became terrible ; they vociferated, — broke the furniture, — cut the paillasses and mattresses with their sabres, — and hunted in every direction. At length they discovered the place of concealment, but it was inaccessible without a ladder, and they forced the sister of the unfortunate object of their search to carry one to the spot. They fixed it, and were beginning to ascend ; — all was lost. The wife threw herself at their knees, and prayed them to leave the house ; but her tears and prayers were useless, or rather they convinced them of the success of their enterprise. Imbert, finding there was no hope, presented himself : “ I will come down,” said he ; “ I am a dead man.” — “ No,” said one of the villains, “ we shall only conduct you to prison ; we shall not hurt you.” At these words Isabeau threw herself on the necks of the monsters, and entreated them to spare his life ; they promised her they would, and ordered him to march. When they arrived at the *corps-du-garde*, they stopped to drink, and offered some of their liquor to the unhappy man — but his heart was too full to permit him to swallow, and he declined. They pursued their route till they came to a place called Cascarre. Isabeau, in the mean time, had attempted to



follow them, but some of the party stopped her ; and when she intreated permission to be near her husband, they replied by striking her with the butt end of their muskets. On a sudden she heard the discharge of fire-arms. “Monsters!” she cried, “they have murdered him,” and springing forward, deaf to calls and threats, she reached the Cascarre. The first object that met her eye was the corpse of Imbert ; desperate, she threw herself upon it, and embraced it. But who can imagine her horror, when one of the arms, separated from the body, remained in her hands ! Her first thought was to secure the mutilated form ; she lifted it up, and attempted to carry it, but sunk under its weight. She then requested a child to fetch her sister ; — her sister had fled to escape assassination. She renewed her efforts to bear away the corpse : the barbarians had the cruelty to insult her affection, and mock her grief : “when you have dragged it as far as you can,” said one of them, “we shall fetch it back again.” At the same time, her daughter, only five years of age, wounded her heart by her cries and tears. At length her sister arrived, and together they succeeded in carrying off the body of Imbert. The murderers seated themselves on a bench, laid aside their arms, and conversed as composedly as though nothing had happened. The mother and the aunt of the deceased passed by — they wished them good morning — and the mother, ignorant of her son’s death, and anxious

to show them civility, eagerly returned their salutation. The party consisted of Gilly *dit* Menade, Aimé, jun., Bouvier, Roger, jun., Bresson, &c.

It was when returning to my hotel, after listening to the recital of these deeds, that I first beheld the infamous Trestaillon; he was walking with several of his companions in front of the barracks, on the spot where the troops were massacred: and I shuddered as I gazed, on this worse than tiger, and while I reflected that there existed in France persons sufficiently wicked and powerful, to protect such a monster from the pursuit of justice, and the vengeance of outraged humanity.

Immediately after the commencement of the general massacres, by the massacre of the barracks, the municipality sent again to the royal commissioners at Beaucaire, to apprize them of the dreadful events that had taken place, and of the prospect of events still more dreadful. At length, after a further delay of many hours, arrived M. Vidal, (celebrated in 1790,) as commissary of police, seated in an elegant carriage, escorted by detachments of troops, and decorated, as well as his escort, with the colours of Trestaillon and his banditti. Green and white were the colours of the faction. Had the protestants, or any other persons, displayed colours different from those of his majesty, they would have been pursued, and shot as rebels; but the men loyal *par excellence*, the special commis-

sioners of the Duke d'Angoulême, dared to appear in rebellion to the royal government, and to carry the signal of anarchy and crime. The arrival of M. Vidal was a triumph for disloyalty and licentiousness; and the wretches who revelled in blood, felt confident of impunity and support, because they marched under his banners.

M. Bernis, extraordinary royal commissioner, and M. Calvières, prefect, made their entry, with similar escorts, and similar emblems; and though the white flag waved on the hotel of the prefecture, they established themselves, at the seat of government, with green and white cockades. These chiefs were supported by their forces, called the army of Beaucaire. The first corps which entered, had indeed, officers, and were all armed with fusils; but the second, composed of men of all classes, presented a frightful medley of guns, forks, swords, pistols, and bludgeons; and the third, burnt with the sun, covered with dust, with pistols in their girdles, and clubs in their hands, their waistcoats over their shoulders, and their shirt sleeves tucked up, appeared most fearful auxiliaries. The last faint hope was exchanged for despair, when these hordes, united with Trestaillon and his satellites, spread themselves through the streets, pillaging in every direction, and uttering frantic cries of fury and fanaticism. Thousands of protestants had fled, and others were hourly quitting the scene of carnage. Refused passports, and even passage, by the *corps du garde*,

who occupied all the barriers, they thought themselves happy if they could escape by night over walls, and hedges, and fields, to the mountains of the Cevennes, or the villages of the Gardon.

In the city, plunder and slaughter were the order of the day. The house of M. Vincent Mourgues was assailed, bales of silk were stolen, and the premises ransacked. M. Mourgues is not only one of the most respectable merchants and bankers, but one of the most honourable and benevolent citizens.

His son had joined the army of the Duke d'Angoulême ; and when the king ordered a contribution of a million, to meet the expenses of the assistance he had received from the allies to regain the throne, M. Mourgues addressed the following letter to the prefect of the Gard.

“ Having learnt by the journals, that his majesty has ordered a military contribution of a million of francs to be levied on his people, and feeling that the government may be in immediate want of money to cover the loans it has made ; I have thought it my duty to come forward and meet the sacrifices required of every good Frenchman. Forgetting, therefore, the loss of fortune I have sustained from the long interruption of my commerce, and unwilling to avail myself of the delay granted to the contributors, I have thought it suitable to tax myself at 10,000 francs. This sum I believe to be much more than my share ; but I hold it at your disposal, and will pay it on your first order. May

you see in this act, a proof of my devotedness, and my fellow subjects, an example of patriotism, &c. &c.”

The friends of the *altar and the throne* made the writer of this letter one of the first objects of attack. It has been pretended that the house of M. Mourgues was mistaken for that of a person of the same name; but, besides the difference of their rank and the knowledge of M. Vincent Mourgues by every child in Nismes, it is to be observed, that the house of the *Sieur Mourgues* was also totally demolished.

The premises of M. Roux Amphoux were besieged and entirely pillaged; all the property that could not be carried off was broken and thrown into the street; and this, notwithstanding the known fact, that the proprietor had subscribed towards the equipment of the troops of the Duke d'Angoulême.

The dwelling and the warehouse of Messrs. Maigre, one of the largest silk manufacturers, were forced; the mob began by drinking the choicest wines and breaking open the closets, and were proceeding to empty the warehouse full of manufactured silks. An officer who was at Nismes, and had obtained authority to exert himself in repressing the disorders, arrived. He was told the house was full, and that he would be murdered: he entered, and in the name of the king ordered the plunderers to leave the house immediately. A musket was fired at him from the staircase; fortunately it was not directed by a bold or skil-

ful hand, and though the assassin escaped, the banditti were expelled. It is worthy of remark, that M. Maigre's office, as one of the treasurers of the subscription for the equipment of the soldiers of the Duke d'Angoulême, procured him no respect. The premises of the same family at Campuget, &c. were the prey of similar parties of catholics. Distinguished for their virtues, they have been also eminently distinguished by the persecutions and calamities they have endured. \*

\* In the troubles excited by the catholics in 1790, this family was exposed to the most cruel persecution, and two of its members were barbarously massacred.

"Monsieur Maigre, a venerable octagenarian, fled from his house, in a carriage, with his son, his son's wife, two children, and two female servants. They were arrested on the road by a patrol, to whom M. Maigre showed a regular passport. Two postillions, returning from Beaucaire, cried to the patrol, "Why do you suffer these people to pass? They are protestants;" and to M. Maigre, "If you have not confessed, you had better do it, for your end is come." The carriage was surrounded by peasants from the villages; "We must kill them," they exclaimed, "they are protestants." At this moment M. Maigre discovered in the crowd an old servant; "André," said he, "do you not know me? are you not interested for me."—"Ah, that was formerly," said the ingrate; "it is very different now;" and immediately aimed a terrible blow at his old master. A postillion leaped from his horse and threw a rope round the neck of the youngest daughter, intending to strangle her; but one of the servants flew to her rescue and drew on herself the fury of the monster, who, throwing the instrument of his cruelty round her, endeavoured to hang her to a tree: fortunately the cord was too short. The infuriated mob then determined to convey

A number of armed men entered the cabinet of the Baron de Castelnau, and demanded 20,000 francs (between 8 and 900*l.*) or his life. The same

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their prisoners to Remoulins. They arrived at the village of La Foux, overwhelmed with menaces and imprecations ; and seeing a capuchin, they solicited his protection. He acknowledged that he knew them, but refused to intercede for them, and shut himself up in the first house. They were forced into the bark in which they were to cross to Remoulins, while the people on the shore cried, " Throw them into the water ! drown them !" An eye-witness of this melancholy scene says, " the family embraced each other, exclaiming in agony, we are all lost." A man seized the aged father and threw him into the stream ; he tried to swim to the bank, but was struck by a stone, and his strength failing, he was drowned. His son, more vigorous, made more resistance ; with one hand he seized a peasant, with the other he grasped the mast. To secure him, they promised him his life ; but at the moment he quitted his hold, they threw him overboard. He swam to the shore, where a gentleman ran to his assistance, and tried to staunch the blood which was flowing fast from his wounds. A man approached, and pointed a fusil. " Spare this good man," said his protector, " he is not guilty of any crime ; in saving his life you will render an important service to your country." — " Yes," said M. Maigre " we have injured no one ; it is true we differ in our religious opinions ; but should this lead you to take my life ? Ask this gentleman, he knows me well." M. Sére then assured the murderers that the family was generally respected. " You are yourself one of the same kind," said a peasant. " No, I am a Roman catholic ; and to prove my assertion, here is my prayer book, and a cross which belongs to my daughter." — " You shall, however, both march to prison," said the peasants. — " Alas ! cried M. Maigre, seizing the hand of his friend, to what danger has

officer found the men with M. Castelnau, and succeeded in disarming and taking them to prison. In a few hours they were again at large, and busily employed in pillaging the protestants.

From these two circumstances, it is evident, that with a little resolution, and a sincere determination to let courage manifest itself, order might soon have been restored. But, alas! plunder and devastation were leisurely and systematically matured.

Pierre Malarte, sixty years of age, an elder of the protestant church, and a member of the consistory, left Nismes with his son and some

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your generosity exposed you." On the road, a man aimed twice at M. Maigre with a musket, saying, "Stand away; let me kill him;" while M. Sére threw himself on the musket, knelt at their feet, and kissed the hands of the murderer, earnestly imploring the life of the unfortunate. "Retire," said the savage, "unless you wish to share the same fate." A woman, alarmed at the danger to which the intrepid courage of Sére had exposed himself, drew him away. M. Maigre was assassinated, and thrown into a stream which flowed by the village. A reaper drew his body from the water with his scythe, took his money, his snuff-box, and his watch, and cast the corpse again into the river. The wife and daughters had taken refuge in an *auberge*; the assassins pursued them with the intention to immolate the whole family, and had not the *aubergiste* assured them that the ladies had escaped into the country, and the Maréchaussée almost immediately appeared, they would inevitably have been sacrificed by the murderers of their husband and father."

*Rapport d'Alquier; imprimé par ordre de l'Assemblée Nationale, p. 70.*



fellow protestants, at the commencement of the troubles.

On the 17th of July an armed party entered his shop and demanded of his wife food and lodging. Madame prepared their table ; but when they saw that she had not given them silver forks and spoons, they became furious, and she was obliged to produce them for the leaders of the party. After they had finished their repast, they insisted on money in the name of Trestaillon and the king ; and 984 francs (41*l.*) were necessary to appease their violence. The next day, thirty more presented themselves, with the modest requisition of, a Napoleon each and their food. While the poor woman endeavoured to soften their rage, an armed mob rushed in, and with fearful gestures, exclaimed, “ Where is your husband, *the chief of the temple*, the chief of the brigands? We will have him dead or alive.” They wounded Madame Malarte in the cheek with their bayonets, and she thought herself fortunate in preserving her life, by the sacrifice of another 1000 francs. (41*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) At night Madame Malarte and her children took refuge with a neighbour, and in the mean time a part of the horde ravaged a house and garden which she owned in another part of the city. They forced all the doors, broke the windows, threw the broken doors into the wells, tore up the vines and the trees, and destroyed all they could not remove. But this was not enough. As they had devastated the second house, she hoped they

would not return to the first, and she re-entered her shop. Alas ! they returned to the charge ; and, to save her warehouse, she counted out all the money that remained, amounting to 672 francs, (28*l.*) and even then, they carried their rapacity so far as to search her person. Deprived of all her ready money, she thought herself less exposed, and remained to protect her property ; but the next day, July 20th, “ the people ” came again, and vowed they would have Malarte alive or dead. Madame applied to the captain of the quarter for a guard ; but she was told, “ there was no guard for the protestants.” In despair she abandoned her home, leaving a young girl to wait on the wretches, who were living there at discretion. In the name of Trestaillon they obliged the poor child to borrow fourteen Napoleons, (10*l.*) and obtained them before they consented to leave the premises.

After all these sacrifices, the unhappy wife indulged the hope of being able to preserve for her husband his valuable establishment. Her hope was vain : the 21st completed her misery. From the morning, savage groupes collected, and a general pillage was announced. At noon-day, without the slightest precaution, and with as much confidence, as if acting under the sanction of the authorities, they carried away *eighty* bales and packages of coffee, sugar, spices, and grocery of all kinds. They broke the vases, and spilt about 1200 quarts of oil. All the linen of a family of eight persons became their prey ; and finally 4000

francs (167*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) were concealed in a secret place in a bureau ; they broke it open, and all the money was stolen. M. Malarte is an industrious, charitable citizen, and a stranger to all political affairs ; but—he was guilty of being a protestant.

Near the barracks, is a large and handsome house, the property of M. Vitte, and acquired by exertion and economy. Besides comfortable lodgings for his own family, he let more than twenty chambers, which were mostly occupied by superior officers, and commissaries of the army. He never enquired the opinion of his tenants, and of course his guests were persons of all political parties ; but, under pretence of searching for concealed officers, his apartments were overrun, his furniture broken, and his property carried off, as inclination or caprice dictated.

The houses of Messrs. Lagorce, most respectable merchants and manufacturers, M. Mathieu, M. Negre Livier, and others, shared the same fate ; many only avoided it by the owners paying large sums, as commutation, or escaping into the country with their cash, and most valuable articles. During the nights of the 18th and the 19th the emigration was very general, though the danger was extreme, for parties of catholics infested all the neighbourhood, and pursued the fugitives as guilty and condemned.

M. Bernis, extraordinary royal commissioner, issued, on the 20th, a proclamation, which reflects disgrace on the authority from which it ema-

nated. "Considering," it says, "that the residence of citizens in places foreign to their domicile, can only be prejudicial to the communes they have left, and to those to which they have repaired, it is ordered, that those inhabitants who have quitted their residence since the commencement of July, return home by the 28th at the latest; otherwise, they shall be deemed accomplices of the evil disposed persons, who disturb the public tranquillity, and their property shall be placed *under provisional sequestration*."

The fugitives had sufficient inducements to return to their hearths, without the fear of sequestration. They were more anxious to embrace their fathers, mothers, wives, and children, and to resume their ordinary occupations, than M. Bernis could be to ensure their return. But what security had they for the fulfilment of his promises? The denunciation of men as criminals, who fled for safety from the sabres of assassins, was oil to the fire of persecution, and the experience of the past, and the present state of affairs, proved that all crimes might be committed by the catholics, with the certainty of impunity.

Trestaillon was dressed in complete uniform and epaulets, which he had stolen; he wore a sabre at his side, pistols in his belt, a cockade of white and green, and a sash of the same colours on his arm. He had under him Truph  my, Servan, Aim  , Hours, and multitudes beside, who acted by his direction.

On the 21st, M. Bernis ordered ‘ all parties and individuals, armed or unarmed, to abstain from searching houses without either an order, or the presence of an officer; on suspicion of arms being concealed, the commandant of the town was ordered, to furnish a patrol to make search and seizure; and all persons carrying arms in the streets, without being on service, were to be arrested.’ Was Trestaillon then a commissioned officer, either of the national guard or the troops of the line? If so, he performed the orders of the authorities: if not, were he and his colleagues arrested in virtue of the proclamation? The answer is notorious. He was not arrested till the middle of October; and then, not by these authorities, but by General La Garde, who was assassinated by one of his comrades.\* The disorders, instead of diminishing, became more general and organised.

\* The system of specious and deceptive proclamations, was perfectly understood, and had been long practised in Languedoc: it was *now too late* to persecute the protestants, simply for their religion. Even in the good times of Louis XIV. there was public opinion enough in Europe, to make that arch tyrant resort to the meanest stratagems. The following single specimen of the plan pursued by the authors of the dragonades, may serve as a key to all the plausible proclamations, which in 1815, covered the perpetration of the most deliberate and extensive crimes.

*Letter from Louvois to Marillac.*

“ The king rejoices to learn from your letters, that there are so many conversions in your department; and he desires

M. Paulet Rauchet, waggon proprietor, was robbed of *twelve horses*, a great quantity of corn, and a portion of his furniture. M. Rouveyrol, gardener, lost his stock, unthreshed corn, and household goods : his brother experienced the same treatment. The magazine of Messrs. Cos-

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that you would continue your efforts, and employ the same means that have been hitherto so successful. His majesty has ordered me to send a regiment of cavalry ; the greatest part of which, he wishes to be quartered on the protestants ; but he does not think it *prudent* that they should be all lodged with them : that is to say, of twenty-six masters, of which a company is composed, if, by a just distribution, ten ought to be received by the protestants, give them twenty, and put them all on the rich ; making this pretence, that when there are not soldiers enough in a town for all to have some, the poor ought to be exempt, and the rich burdened. His majesty has thought proper also to order, that all converts be exempted from lodging soldiers for two years. This will occasion numerous conversions, if you take care that it is rigorously executed, and that in all the distributions, and passage of troops, by far the greatest number are quartered on the rich protestants. His majesty particularly enjoins, that your orders on this subject, either by yourself or your sub-delegates, *be given by word of mouth*, to the mayors and sheriffs, *without letting them know, that his majesty intends by these means to force the Hugonots to become converts*, and only explaining to them, that you give these orders on the information you have received, that in these places, the rich are exempted by their influence, to the prejudice of the poor."

It is in this ultra-montane school, that the pretended catholics of Nismes, have graduated, and it is in these mysteries of falsehood, hypocrisy, and injustice, that they are thoroughly read.

tes, drapers, was plundered at discretion. The old post-master, M. Laune, had his premises completely stripped. The dwelling house and granary of M. Loche were nearly emptied, and M. Cler was still more vexatiously impoverished. M. Monier Favillade, and his father M. Pascal, were not only pillaged in Nismes, but they lost from their estate, mules, carts, ploughs, forage, and corn; three days successively this continued, and at last the iron gates, pulleys, &c. were taken. M. Lombard, and M. Hugues at St. Cesaire, and M. Rouffet, at Courbessac, were rapaciously pillaged. Messrs. Carrier, drapers, were obliged to pay a large sum, to save the contents of their warehouse. Messrs. Rouvelly and Co. were compelled to give money to a considerable amount; and even that did not exempt them from spoliation. Messrs. Daumon, Benezet, Salle Colombe, Persin and Peyron drapers, Pontin and Alizon linen factors, Antoine Henry, Passe bois, André Bergeron, &c. were exposed to similar depredations.

That political delinquency was not the real cause of this persecution, is evident from the merciless treatment experienced by females. The widow Rivet was obliged to sacrifice an enormous sum, and the widow Bernard was not more fortunate. The widow Lecointe saw her house ravaged, and her goods destroyed. The widow Franc Didier had her dwelling sacked; an entire *corps de logis* was demolished to the foundations.

The widow Perrin resided on a little farm near the windmills; a party arrived, and after having ill-treated her, and forced her from the premises, committed every species of devastation:—having ruined the house, they attacked even the chamber of the dead: a cave contained the relics of her family—they dragged the coffins from the tomb, and threw the contents over the adjoining grounds. The next day, the outraged widow collected with her own hands the broken bones of her relatives, and replaced them in their sepulchre, amidst the ruins of her habitation:—they were again exhumed, and rescattered—and after several useless efforts, she was obliged to weep over the dishonoured remains of her fathers, spread over the surface of her fields.

Till the period announced for the sequestration of the property of the fugitives, murder and plunder were the daily and nightly occupation of the army of Beaucaire, and the catholics of Nismes. M. Peyron, of Broussan, had all his property carried off; his wine, oil, seed, grain, several score of sheep, eight mules, three carts, his furniture and effects, and all the money that could be found, were taken, without his possessing the power of preventing the spoliation, but congratulating himself that his habitation was not consumed, and that his vineyards were not rooted up. The premises of his brother at Rapatel, and of his father at Caissargues, of M. Gaujon, at Cignan, and those of Calvas,



Larague, and La Rouviere, were entirely stripped; the corn, wine, oil, and heavy goods were carried away in the carts, and by the mules of the proprietors, to places designated for their reception by the banditti. This process continued regularly during several days.

The estate of Messrs. Negre, uncle and nephew, is situated at a short distance from Nismes. On the arrival of an armed force, the domestics fled; only one remained to protect the property of his master, and as he was a catholic, he hoped that he should also preserve his own life.

The royalists took hay, corn, and provisions; and when they had emptied the large bottles, containing four and five gallons of wine, they broke them in pieces, and then devastated the house. M. Negre had lost a daughter, ten years of age, about two months before, and had buried her near one of the pavillions of the *chateau*; but fearing that Madame Negre would too frequently visit the sepulchre, and indulge a vain and injurious grief, he had walled up the door of the enclosure of the tomb. When the wretches had sacked the house, and were searching for more plunder, they espied the newly raised wall; and not doubting but it concealed a large treasure, they destroyed it, removed the mound of earth, opened the grave, and were only satisfied when they had exhumed the corpse, and the odour compelled them to retire. The faithful servant returned at night, found the naked body of Mademoiselle Negre exposed to

the birds and beasts of prey, and re-covered it with earth. Some days after, another party committed similar outrages on all that is decent and sacred. A quantity of unthreshed corn still remained on the threshing floor; and a number of notorious royalists were hired by M. Negre to guard this remnant of his property. The guards employed themselves in hunting in the neighbourhood, and in shooting the pigeons belonging to the estate. The reports of their fusils created an alarm, and a man ran into Nismes and announced to the authorities that there was an assemblage of protestants at Vaquerolle. The authorities could now act; and they dispatched M. Murjas with a company of soldiers and artillery. Arrived on the spot, these agents of the government found only desolation; but such was their madness, that they set fire to the house in several places, cut down trees, surrounded them with corn-sheaves, and made a communication for the flames, till the whole grove was consumed. They further took the malicious precaution to turn off the stream of the fountain, and to open all the valves of the basins, that there might be no water if assistance should arrive. Assistance, alas! where there were only furies and victims.

The chateau and all around it was burnt; the administration gave itself no concern, and eight days after, travellers saw the smoke still rising from the ruins.

Messrs. Negre, who lost nearly 100,000 francs,

had not given the slightest pretext for such savage conduct. They had occupied no places ; not even in the tribunal of commerce ; but were entirely engaged in their mercantile relations, and lived at peace with every body. M. Negre, the uncle, had been condemned to the guillotine for having deplored the death of Louis XVI. and was not liberated from prison, till two months after the fall of Robespierre. It was enough that these gentlemen belonged to the reformed communion, in which the fanatics were determined not to find either royalists or citizens worthy the common protection of society.

It has been stated, that the house of M. Vitte, near the barracks, was pillaged ; after some days the attack was renewed. By accident, a workman in the barracks had set fire to some straw ; the mob assembled, and their dreadful vociferations alarmed the neighbourhood. M. Vitte had been concealed, in the house of an officer of the national guard ; but this officer, fearing for his guest and himself, obliged the poor man to quit his refuge, and he not daring to appear in the streets, crept along the adjoining roofs, in order to gain his own house. The persons employed in extinguishing the fire saw him, gave the signal, and denounced M. Vitte as the incendiary. His house is separated from the barracks by a court and a ditch. The innocent cause of the accident avowed himself, and expostulated and entreated. It was in vain : to accuse, condemn, and destroy a protestant was

an affair of a moment. Nothing could restrain the fury of the populace; they broke open his doors, and demolished every thing but the walls. A Jew family, lodging in the house, was driven out, and all their goods were thrown from the windows. M. Vitte was seized, robbed of his watch and money, severely wounded, and left for dead. Fourteen hours he remained without consciousness or assistance; at the expiration of that time a commissary of police saw him, and, touched with his situation, administered some cordials to revive him, and, as "a measure of safety," conducted him to the citadel. Many days he was there, without his family being informed: wife, son, daughter-in-law, and grand-children lamented him as dead: they were concealed, and plunged into misery and despair. At length he found means to apprise them of his existence, and, as there was not the slightest charge against him, he obtained his liberation from M. Vidal. Still he was obliged to observe concealment. When the Austrians arrived, one of the aides-de-camp who heard of his sufferings and his respectability, sought M. Vitte, and furnished an escort to conduct his family to a place of security. At Sauve they found an asylum with a sister, and remained there a long time, reduced from comfort to poverty and wretchedness, and waiting the restoration of tranquillity and the return of justice. Many thousand francs were necessary to repair his house, beside the very

large amount that was required to replace the furniture of so many apartments.

While the rich were delivered to unrestrained pillage, the poor were slaughtered at pleasure. Isnard was murdered at St. Cezaire; Cleron on the Alais road; Porcher at Vaguerolle; and Sandoz at the barrier. Rambert, a harmless silk weaver, was advised by a pretended friend to adopt the dress of a female, and promised a secure retreat; — a natural deformity rendered his disguise useless; still he confided, but at the moment that he passed the house of his perfidious guide, several armed men rushed out, and murdered and stripped him. His unhappy wife did not long survive. Dalbos, the only city beadle who was a protestant, was dragged from his home by some national guards and led to prison. His niece threw herself on the neck of one of them and implored mercy; the ruffian dashed her to the ground. His sister was driven away by the mob. The guard fired, and the fatal ball entered his back. His corpse remained a long time exposed to the insults of the people.

In the latter end of July, was received the decree of Louis XVIII. which annulled all the extraordinary powers conferred either by the king, the princes, the minister of the interior, or subordinate agents. The laws were now to be administered by the regular organs, and M. d'Arbaud Jouques arrived on the 29th, at the hotel of the prefecture. His presence evidently disconcerted the authorities, especially M. Cal-

vieres, the prefect *de facto* ; and it was not till after a delay of twenty-four hours, that the new prefect was acknowledged and installed. His speech and proclamation on the occasion revealed his opinion of the *religious* nature of the disturbances, and the necessity of exhibiting and maintaining the charter. " My journey," said he, " from the capital, has afforded the spectacle of harmony and delight. What was my grief, when I learnt the Gard was agitated by intestine divisions, and especially by resentments *rather religious than political*? This contest is without any real interest for individuals; and who that has a French heart will detach himself from that sublime *charter* which the king considers his noblest title? *Liberty of conscience* is proclaimed in this immortal act. Equality of civil and political rights, and admission to all places and honours are assured to all Frenchmen, without distinction of birth or worship. *Religious* dissensions are then without motive, and without avail."

In harmony with his speech was his public address: " Children of the same God, of the same king, and of the same country, nothing ought to divide you. The king and France ought to be inseparable in your hearts, as they are in their destinies. But when you embrace each other in the name of a beloved and paternal monarch, will you devour each other in the sacred name of God, the father of mankind ?

No, inhabitants of the Gard, *religious* discussions have no longer any relation with the temporal interests of our hasty lives. The charter has consecrated principles which leave neither fear nor doubt to any Frenchman, whatever *religion* he may profess. Liberty of conscience is the most sacred of French liberties ; the law protects all denominations, assures to all the same civil and political rights, and he only is abandoned who violates laws civil and divine, by attempting to injure the life or the property of his neighbour. Let us be united, and then we shall be Christians. Let the same sentiments penetrate every heart, and the same cry burst from every mouth — The king, *the charter*, and France.”

This was precisely what the protestants desired, and what their enemies abhorred : they would not have equal rights and equal security ; they wanted to influence and not to allay religious animosity ; fanaticism was the right-arm of their vengeance ; and, instead of uniting in the cry which the new prefect dictated, they added insult to disobedience, and cried, at the theatre and at the mayoralty, “ Down with him, down with him ! Calvières for ever ! Down with the protestants ! *Vive le roi.*” In fact, the very next day he left his government, set off for Toulouse to have an interview with the Duke d’Angoulême, and did not return till the 18th of August.

M. Calvières, under whose administration

“the people” were not troubled about laws or charters, resumed the functions of prefect to the satisfaction of all bad subjects. The day that the proclamation of M. d’Arbaud Jouques appeared, another was published by M. Vidal, ascribing the ‘unavoidable troubles to a *few powerless agitators*, inviting the fugitives to return, and promising them perfect protection.’ Many of the fugitives did return ; the desire to rejoin their families, the apprehension of confiscation, the arrival of a prefect, the spirit of his proclamation, and the momentary calm that his presence had occasioned, determined them to quit their retreats, and re-enter the circle of their duties and affections. In spite of all these proclamations, and the apparent stagnation of “the people,” the work of destruction was not abandoned, but was soon renewed with fresh vigour and success.

On the 30th of July Jacques Combe, the father of a family, was killed at the Pont de l’Eau Bouillée, by some of the national guards of Rusan ; and the crime was so public, that the commander of the party restored to the family, the pocket-book and papers which Combe had about him at the time of his death. During the 31st, tumultuous crowds celebrated the restoration of M. Calvières to his functions, by roaming about the city and the fauxbourgs, and menacing and outraging the wretched protestants ; and on the 1st of August they butchered them without mercy, and without the slightest opposition.



In the middle of the day (Aug. 1st,) six armed men, headed by Truphémey, the butcher, surrounded the house of Monot, a carpenter. Two of the party, who were smiths, had been at work at the house the day before, and had seen a protestant who had taken refuge there. M. Bourillon had been a lieutenant in the army, and, after being severely wounded in the service of his country, he had retired on a pension, with the most honourable certificates. He was a man of excellent character, peaceable, harmless, had been many years in private life, and had never served the Emperor Napoleon. He was unknown to Truphémey, but he took one of his companions into the house with him, to point out his victim. They found him partaking of a frugal repast with his wife and the family. Truphémey ordered him to go along with him, adding, "Your friend Saussine is already in the other world." Bourillon demanded what they wanted with him; and he was informed, to "take him to the *etat-major*, or to prison." He requested time to put on his gaiters; but they told him he would have no need of gaiters, and would hardly allow him to get his hat. Truphémey placed him in the middle of his troop, and ordered him to cry *Vive l'empereur*. He refused; they insisted; he still refused, adding, that he was no longer a soldier, and, in fact, had never served the emperor. The women and the master of the house praised his amiable and virtuous qualities, and interceded for his life. It was in

vain : they marched him to the public promenade, threatening, as they proceeded, to shoot the people in the streets through which they passed, if they looked at them, or if they remained at their doors or windows ; and, in the wantonness of their power, they levelled at several persons who were not instant in their obedience. Arrived at the esplanade, where stands the Palais de Justice, they stopped before a shop. “ We can do it here,” said they ; and they prepared. The owner of the shop requested them to go farther, lest they should kill the passengers ; and they moved on. Bourillon had scarcely a moment to commend himself to God. Truphémé fired first, the others followed. One of the hands of this unfortunate protestant was shot off, and his breast pierced by several shots. He was dead in an instant. The murderers stood conversing round the body, and contemplating their achievement. Truphémé finding M. Bourillon’s hat better than his, took it from the head of the deceased, and placed it on his own. Others took their share of his clothes ; and they left the corpse only covered with pantaloons. Several persons, attracted by the firing, approached ; but they were threatened with a similar fate. After some time the wretches departed, shouting, “ *Vive le roi.*” Some women met them, and they regarded them with the most ferocious indications. Said one, “ I have killed seven to-day for my share ;” and a woman appearing affected, he added, “ and if you say

a word I will seize hold of you, and you shall be the eighth." The men who thus massacred the citizens at their pleasure, at noon day, in the most public and genteel parts of the town, wore the uniform of the national guard.

It was too true, as Truph  my had boasted, that M. Saussine was no more. In 1801, M. Saussine retired from the army, (which he had entered in 1777,) with the rank of captain ; and his two sons had since fallen on the field of battle. He was sixty-five years of age, infirm and deaf, and living in peace and privacy. It was enough that he was a protestant. At six o'clock in the morning he was found at his residence on the road to Uzes, and killed on the spot. Truph  my drove the widow from her home ; and Trestaillon took possession of it as a dwelling for his sister. Madame Saussine died soon after of grief and persecution.

Pierre Courbet a stocking weaver, was torn from his loom by an armed band, under pretence of being conducted to the citadel. Before his own door, four wretches discharged their muskets at his body. His eldest daughter, sixteen years of age, flew to her father amidst the fire and smoke ; he fell at her feet. A monster knocked down the affectionate child, with the butt end of his musket ; and she was with difficulty rescued from the fury of the blood thirsty multitude. The horror of the scene has occasioned ever since the derangement of her intellects. A poignard was held

at the breast of the bereaved wife, while the mob plundered her apartments.

Paul Héraut, a silk weaver, was dining with his family, when a number of armed men entered, and ordered him to follow them. It was useless to refuse. At the corner of the Enclos du Rey, another band joined the party, and they all fell upon their prisoner, and literally cut him in pieces, in the presence of an immense crowd, and amidst the unavailing cries and tears of his wife and four young children. They only abandoned the corpse, horribly mutilated, to return to the house, and secure every thing that was worth removal.

The deaths of Jacques Imbert, and the other members of the Chivas family, have been related. Domeson, a silk weaver, was another victim; and the memory of his tragical death is perpetuated by a melancholy but interesting association. His daughter has married the orphan son of Antoine Clot. I saw this young couple, to whom the protestants had given a marriage portion, and furnished the means of procuring a livelihood.

The number of murders on this day cannot be ascertained; but, according to the report of several officers, more than twenty were sacrificed in the city and suburbs, to the cries of *Vive le roi*. One person saw six bodies at the Cours Neuf, and nine were carried to the hospital.

The horrid activity of "*the people*" appears to have alarmed even the popular prefect,

M. Calvieres. He felt that after the king had sent to Nismes another prefect, he was doubly responsible for the crimes of his party. He accordingly published a proclamation. It was altogether mystical, and designed rather to throw suspicion on the persecuted, than to point out the guilty, and promote their detection and punishment.

“ Fresh disorders have appeared these two days in Nismes ; my heart is wounded, and I hasten to invite you to exert every means to check them. I know that you place entire confidence in me. *Secret agitators*, stimulated by the enemies of the king, have provoked to disorders of which I complain. Do not believe that they are royalists, even if they say that they are. Do not be misled by the fear of seeing *traitors*, who have betrayed the best of kings, go unpunished. The guilty shall be immediately struck, but *rely for vengeance* on the zeal of the public authority.”

The *secret agitators*, and the *traitors* who were *to be struck with vengeance*, but whom the people were requested not to kill, were found in the protestants, and no measures were taken to arrest or restrain the bands, who in the costume of soldiers, and national guards, murdered them at their leisure, and in the face of the sun. A council of war was indeed formed the same day, and it was inferred, that it was to try and condemn some of the chiefs of the assassins. But Trestaillon and Truphémy were better instructed ; they were

not alarmed by words, nor intimidated by councils. The result justified their confidence, for instead of interfering with them, or in favour of the protestants, the council of war occupied itself in the following important transaction.

A Piedmontese officer of the army which was disbanded after the first restoration, was at Nismes, and united in acknowledging Napoleon on his return from Elba. On the second restoration, knowing that according to the new limits of France he was a foreigner, and confiding in the pardon that was extended to others, he remained tranquilly in the city. He was arrested. On the 24th of July, Louis XVIII. published an ordonnance, declaring, that submission to Napoleon after the 23d of March, was not to be considered culpable; and all the exceptions being named in a list, that list was declared irrevocably closed, and entire security promised to all other citizens without distinction. Captain Deferal did not acknowledge Napoleon till the 3d of April, eleven days after the time fixed, and four after the regular course of the public courier. He had not been distinguished; he was not on active service; he had committed no excess; abused no power. The ordonnance was even published in the same number of the Official Journal, with the institution of the court-martial. This court, composed of the army of Beaucaire, summoned before it the unfortunate Deferal, and condemned him to death. On the 5th he was shot on the Place de Carmes, with aggravated cruelty and indecency; his corpse

was afterwards exposed to the view and outrage of “the people,” among whom were those, not of the lowest class, females, and even ministers of religion. The reporter of the court-martial was M. Noailles, advocate, and his father, president of the cour royale, or imperiale, during the 100 days, had acknowledged Napoleon, and taken the oath of allegiance to him on the very same day with the murdered captain. This victim was a foreigner and a catholic; but his death was justified, as a sort of expiation, and as the means, by gratifying the thirst for blood, of sparing that of many protestants, who at that time, were imprisoned and marked for slaughter. It is not necessary to enter into the general bearing of this transaction, or to consider the guilt or innocence of Deferal, for without any political allusion, it presents an important proof of the ability possessed by the faction to prosecute persons supposed to be guilty, and of the perversion of law and justice which marked the period of the massacres of the protestants of the Gard.\*

\* The *Journal des Debats*, published at Paris, and eminently royalist, after giving an account of the troubles of the Gard, added, “A military commission has been named to try the authors; but it is very doubtful whether this commission will be able to cause its decision to be executed, or even to assemble.” — The official journal of the Gard indignantly replied: “The Paris editor ought to know that a council of war is established, to try and punish the numerous atrocities of the Buonapartists; and he may be assured that it has met already, and that there is every reason to believe that its orders will not experience the slightest opposition.”

If murders were less frequent for a few days, it was not because the fiends were idle, timid, or repentant. Pillage and forced contributions were actively continued. M. Salle d'Hombre, at several visits, was robbed of 7000 francs (nearly 300*l.*); and on one occasion, when he pleaded the sacrifices he had made for the good cause, "Look," said a bandit, pointing to his pipe, "this will set fire to your house; and this," brandishing his sword, "will finish you." — The reasoning was irresistible. — The houses of M. Jalaguier Plantier, and a second house belonging to the widow Frat Maystre, were plundered and burnt. Madame Frat was a creditor to Lavondes, one of the chiefs of the catholic party, to the amount of more than 100,000 francs. He had been a bankrupt under disgraceful and aggravated circumstances, and was in debt above 400,000 francs; but he was of great service to the cause. He harangued "the people" night and day, after the manner of Robespierre, in the *Caf  Royale*, and instigated them to every disgraceful deed. — The houses of M. Roubel Mouffier and Emile Noguier were devastated, and that of M. Jalabert was burnt. — M. Ducamp suffered not only the plunder of his dwelling-house and stores in Nismes, and at Courbessac, where brigands fired musket-shot at the tuns of wine, and wasted all they could not appropriate; but at the estate of Madame Ducamp, where they stripped the premises of all that suited them, and then set fire to the buildings.



The conflagration continued sixty hours, and only ceased when every thing was consumed. Hay, corn, cattle, cellars full of wine, all were taken or destroyed. Nothing political could be alleged against this family; but their protestantism was indeed, sufficiently marked, as M. Ducamp, junior, had married the grand-daughter of M. Puget, protestant minister and martyr, at Nismes.

M. Feline, a silk manufacturer, was robbed of cash to the amount of 32,000 francs in gold, and 3000 francs in silver, and several bales of silk.

The small shop-keepers were exposed every hour to visits, and demands of provisions, or drapery, or whatever they sold; and the same hands that set fire to the houses of the rich, and tore up the vines of the cultivator, broke the looms of the weaver, and stole the tools of the artizan. Desolation reigned in the city and in the sanctuary; and the conduct of the depositaries of the royal power inspired only apprehension. The armed bands, instead of being reduced, were increased. The fugitives, instead of returning, received constant accessions; and their friends, who sheltered them, were considered rebellious. Those who remained were deprived of all their civil and religious rights. The advocates and the huissiers entered into a resolution to exclude all of the "pretended reformed religion" from their bodies. Those who were employed in the dif-

ferent administrations were dismissed ; even the persons who kept the licensed *débîts* of tobacco were deprived of their licences, and their means of subsistence. The door-keeper of the library, the jailors, and even the kitchen-maid of the prefecture, were discharged. The temple was closed and abandoned. The consistory, and the deacons who had the charge of the poor, were all scattered. Of five pastors, only two remained, — the aged M. O. Desmond, who had a son in the royal army, and M. Juillerat-Chasseur, who was obliged to change his residence, and only under cover of the night could venture to administer the consolations or perform the functions of his ministry. An elder, whose delightful employment it was to visit the indigent, and carry with the truths of religion the tribute of paternal charity, fell a victim to the grief and chagrin which he experienced at witnessing miseries which he was unable to relieve. The widow and orphan will long weep for M. Rochblave as, in the primitive church, the persecuted Christians deplored the loss of the benevolent Dorcas.

Not contented with all these persecutions, calumnious and inflammatory publications held up the protestants to detestation, as the enemies of order, hostile to the throne, unworthy the protection of the laws and the favour of the monarch. They were charged with raising the proscribed standard in the communes, and invoking the fallen Napoleon.

Imprisonments were the consequence ; not merely arbitrary, but licentious ; for *several hundreds* were dragged to prison by the bands of Trestailon, and the pretended national guard, not only without examination, and without a knowledge of their crime, but even without *any written order whatever for their apprehension*. The imputations, which served as the pretext for these illegal detentions, were not read in insignificant pamphlets, but in official papers, inspected and licensed by the regular officer.

The journal which, before the second restoration, bore the title of the *Journal du Gard*, after that event appeared, as the *Journal Officiel*. A greater authority than that of an ordinary paper was required to impose absurd falsehoods as indubitable facts, and vile calumnies as judicial communications. Those who might have been tempted to reply and appeal, were awed by the sanction of the government, and their silence was then charged on them as a proof of guilt.

The whole collection of the Official Journal, does not contain the word *charter* ; nor indeed, for five months was it employed by prefect, mayor, or any other public functionary. One of the first numbers represented the suffering protestants as ‘ crocodiles, only weeping from rage and regret that they had no more victims to devour ; as persons who had surpassed Danton, Marat, and Robespierre in the science of doing mischief ; as the instruments

of injustice and oppression, which a just and repairing government would despoil of all its power and influence ; as having prostituted their daughters to the garrison, to gain it to the cause of Napoleon, and as having occasioned the cry of the soldiers, “ *Vive les protestans de Nismes, qui nous fournissent leur vin, leurs filles, et leur argent.*” ” An extract from this article, stamped with the crown and the arms of the Bourbons, was hawked about the streets and faubourgs, and the vender was adorned with the medal of the police.

The same spirit dictated addresses which were carried to the foot of the throne. The royal national guards, in whose uniform Trestailon was arrayed, assured his Majesty that all was tranquil, celebrated their own loyalty, and invoked vengeance on persons from whom, according to their own statement, they had nothing to apprehend.

“ Sire,” say they, “ your enemies confounded — the factions vanquished — *a population hostile to the throne and the altar repressed* — unfaithful troops reclaimed ; such are the pledges of fidelity which the national guards of Nismes now present to your Majesty. Ah ! if we are allowed to express a wish, we will say, lay aside, Sire, a kindness too generous ; strike the hydra, eternally reviving ; secure the repose of France ; she can only enjoy peace when your enemies are destitute of the power of injuring you,” &c. The royalists of Nismes, in their address, exclaimed : “ Sire, we

conjure you, not to disguise from yourself that to prevent new revolutions, to maintain the crown in your august dynasty, to consolidate the happiness of your people, *the punishment of traitors, and the occupation of all public offices, by pure and tried royalists*, are indispensable. Your own safety, as well as ours, requires this double guarantee. We eagerly solicit this of your Majesty. The perfidious give to pardon the name of feebleness; and, accustomed to cover themselves with the mantle of hypocrisy, they are never more dangerous than at the moment when they feign an entire submission.”

To these diatribes it is but just to oppose the petition which the protestants, who had taken refuge at Paris, presented, to Louis XVIII. on behalf of their brethren. “ We lay at your feet, Sire,” said they, “ our acute sufferings. In your name our fellow-citizens are slaughtered and their property laid waste. Misled peasants, in pretended obedience to your orders, had assembled at the command of a commissioner appointed by your august nephew. Although ready to attack us, they were received with the assurances of peace. On the 15th of July we learnt your Majesty’s entrance into Paris, and the white flag immediately waved on our edifices. The public tranquillity had not been disturbed, when armed peasants introduced themselves. The garrison capitulated, but were assailed on their departure, and almost totally

massacred. Our national guard was disarmed ; the city was filled with strangers ; and the houses of the principal inhabitants, professing the reformed religion, were attacked and plundered. We subjoin the list. Terror has driven from our city the most respectable citizens.

“ Your Majesty is deceived if there has not been placed before you the picture of the horrors which make desert your good city of Nismes. Arrests and proscriptions are continually taking place, and difference of *religious* opinions is the real and only cause. The calumniated protestants are defenders of the throne. Your nephew has beheld our children under his banners ; our fortunes have been placed in his hands. Attacked without reason, the protestants have not, even by a just resistance, afforded their enemies the fatal pretext for calumny. Save us, Sire : extinguish the brand of civil war. A single act of your will would restore to political existence, a city interesting for its population and its manufactures. Demand an account of their conduct from the chiefs, who have brought on us our misfortunes. We place before your eyes all the documents which have reached us. Fear paralises the hearts and stifles the complaints of our fellow-citizens. Placed in a more secure situation, we venture to raise our voice in their behalf,” &c. &c.

Every thing announced to the protestants a well regulated system of persecution, and the populace appeared to have the same conviction

for they committed atrocities at which humanity turns pale.

At Nismes, as in all France, the inhabitants wash their clothes either at the fountains or on the banks of streams. There is a large basin near the fountain, where every day great numbers of women may be seen kneeling at the edge of the water, and beating the linen with heavy pieces of wood in the shape of battledoors. This spot became the scene of the most cruel and indecent practices. The catholics vented their fury on the wives, widows, and daughters of protestants, by a newly invented punishment. They turned their petticoats over their heads, and so fastened them as to favour their shameful exposure, and their subjection to chastisement; and nails being placed in the wood of the *battoirs* in the form of *fleurs-de-lis*, they beat them till the blood streamed from their bodies, and their screams rent the air. The 14th and 15th of August were especially signalised by these horrors; and thus the fête of the Assumption, professedly designed by the catholics, to recall the most exalted purity and the Divine benevolence, was observed by those of Nismes, by the most revolting violation of female modesty, and by brutal gratifications at which even savages might blush. Often was death demanded as a commutation of this ignominious punishment; but death was refused with malignant joy; murder was to perfect, and not prevent, the obscene and cruel sport. To carry their outrage to the highest

possible degree, they assailed in this manner several who were in a state of pregnancy.

Madame Rath, when near her confinement, was attacked by about sixty of the *purest* catholics, armed with knotted cords, battoirs, and stones. It was with difficulty she escaped instant death, and only by extraordinary skill that her life was preserved in premature child-birth. Her babe just breathed and expired. Her mother had already lost an eye from the discharge of a pistol, fired at her by Trestaillon. The loss of her child, the distressing situation of her mother, and her own agony and shame, were the punishments inflicted on her for being guilty of — Calvinism.

Madame Gautiere, and Madame Domerque, in a similar critical period, were treated with similar indignity. Madame Reboul died in a few days of the injuries she had received. The daughter of Benouette was beaten and torn with nails, by a young man named Merle, assisted by an inhuman rabble of both sexes. One of the daughters of Bigonnette (who was thrown into a well and drowned) died of the ill-treatment she experienced: one orphan sister, in terror, had become a catholic, but the other, although at the risk of her life, refused to abandon her religion. A female servant was stripped of all her clothes, and left on the public road, covered with blood, and exposed to the jests of a degraded populace — a soldier took off his great coat, threw it on her, and conducted her to the town.



A young woman, about twenty years of age, had engaged to marry a catholic poorer than herself, but she made it a condition, that the marriage should be celebrated in the protestant temple : this was during the 100 days. Circumstances changed, and the relations of the young man persuaded him to break off the connection. He went to the young female and demanded that their union should be celebrated in the catholic church ; she refused to alter her resolution, and the compact was dissolved. Vengeance was threatened ; she was seized in the street, and her intended husband joined the assailants : she was dragged to the fountain, and there whipped amidst cries of “ *Vive le roi*,” and indecencies, both of language and conduct, which it is impossible to relate.

The wife and daughter of Barignon were stripped before their own door, and the daughter received a blow from a knife, which has become an incurable wound. — Francoise was cruelly flogged ; and after being placed backward on a donkey, with one of her hands tied to its tail, she was finally exposed in a most shameful attitude, and covered with mud to the sound of “ *Vive le roi*.” The widow Driole was stripped and flogged in her own house ; the brigands then took away in a cart, all her goods, and a quantity of corn she had gleaned, and afterwards set them on fire. Chabanelle was treated in the same manner in her apartments, when near confinement ; and Isabeau Calours, also, before her

dwelling in the *Place de Bachelas*. These miserable beings were so lacerated, that both they and their executioners weltered in blood. A female, called the *great Marie*, was whipped and brought into Nismes to the Palais de Justice on an ass: she died soon after. The daughter of Allerd died of the wounds she received. Madame Pic was carried in a hand-barrow to the hospital, and for two years did not recover from the effects of her injuries.

The scandalous nature of these outrages prevented many of the sufferers from making them public, and especially from relating the most aggravating circumstances; but the dames Gibelin, Bragouse, Gervier, Gourdoux, Audizer and daughter, Gregoire, Frequolle, Portier, Rigaud, Durante, Gas, and many others are known to have been the victims of these barbarities; — the practice continued for several months. “I have seen,” says M. Durand, a catholic avocat, “the assassins in the faubourg Bourgade, arm a *battoir* with sharp nails in the form of *fleurs-de-lis*; I have seen them raise the garments of females, and apply with heavy blows to the bleeding body this *battoir* to which they gave a name, which my pen refuses to inscribe. The cries of the sufferers — the streams of blood — the murmurs of indignation, which were suppressed by fear — nothing could move them. The surgeons who attended on those who are dead, can attest by the marks of their wounds, and the agonies which

they endured, that this account, however horrible, is most strictly true."

During the progress of these horrors and obscenities, so disgraceful to France and to the catholic religion, and while the agents of government were deceiving public opinion, a powerful force was at their command, and they had only honestly to employ it, to restore tranquillity. This fact is recorded in their Official Journal in the following terms :

"General Briche has reviewed *this day*, (August 16th,) on the Cours Royale, all the armed force ; troops of the line and national guards. What a spectacle ! at least *four thousand* men, the greater part of whom had been on service, assembled on the vast place, manœuvring like old soldiers to the cry, a thousand times repeated, "*Vive le roi.*" After the review, they defiled on the esplanade, in the midst of a crowd transported with delight, and repeating every moment the same cry. This spectacle, so assuring to our country, must be sufficient to destroy all the hopes of the factions, if any such yet exist, by proving that the royal power is more than an empty name. The fair of Beaucaire has prevented more than a third of the national guard of Nismes from appearing at the review ; but this hindrance will soon cease."

The next day, General Briche expressed to the " Brave inhabitants of Nismes, his satisfaction with their devotion to the royal cause, their generous efforts and their exact discipline."

At this period M. d'Arbaud Jouques returned to Nismes from Toulouse, and found the same evils which had existed at his departure. The authority given him by the king, could no longer be questioned; Messrs. Baron Damas and the Marquis Villeneuve, having announced at Toulouse, on the 15th, the cessation of the extraordinary powers of the Duke d'Angoulême. On the 18th the prefect resumed the exercise of his functions; but the presence of the same magistrate no longer produced the effect it had so lately operated. He was no longer insulted at the theatre or in the public places; from the time of his return he obtained the suffrages of the people, and has known ever since how to preserve them. The moment was peculiarly critical, as the election of deputies for the department was about to take place.

In the night of the 19th, many protestant fathers, and most of them returned from emigration on the faith of specious proclamations, were slaughtered in the bosom of their families. At ten o'clock Antoine Rigaud, husbandman, was dragged from his chamber, and barbarously and wantonly stabbed. A Sapeur of the national guard prevented his wife from approaching her dying husband.

Honoré Soulier had retired to rest; he was torn from the arms of his wife, mangled with sabres, and left for dead. When at some distance, his assassins observed a convulsive movement and returned to finish their work; the suf-

ferer had just strength to entreat, as a favour, the *coup de grâce*. The corpse remained all night in the street. — Pierre L'Heritier was also cut to pieces by wretches armed with sabres : in this dreadful night they chose to destroy the protestants '*avec des armes blanches*.'

Francois Dumas, a silk weaver, about seventeen years of age, was induced by stratagem, to quit his apartments. He was summoned to reinforce the *Corps du Garde*, and immediately obeyed ; but no sooner had he descended, than a dozen assassins surrounded and hacked him with their sabres. They then joined their hands and danced round his body almost swimming in blood, and trampled it under their feet. From eleven o'clock, till the next day he lingered in the agonies of death. A patrol of the national guard passed and witnessed his sufferings — "Very good," they exclaimed, "they have worked well at him ;" and marched on, without attempting to succour a dying fellow-citizen. At seven in the morning, when he was removed from the street to the hospital, he was still alive, but immediately on his arrival he expired. This young man was the principal support of his widowed mother, and five or six brothers and sisters.

Bigonnet was first wounded, and afterwards thrown into a well, where he was found dead the following day. The exact number sacrificed it is not possible to ascertain ; but Brugier, a dyer ; Loudier, a mason ; and Loriol, were among

the slain. The massacre would have been still more dreadful, had not many who were appointed to death escaped under cover of the night, or by the most precipitate and hazardous flight.

Baraton, the brother of Soulier, threw himself out of a very high window, into a garden. Fortunately he was not materially injured, but he could find no hiding place: at length he saw a dung heap, and covered himself with dung. One day and a half he lay in this dreadful situation, and though he preserved his life, he endured a long and dangerous illness.

The new prefect, M. d'Arbaud Jouques, contented himself with issuing a plaintive proclamation.

“ On the 30th of July last, I held to you the language of reason, the laws, and truth. You appeared to listen with pleasure and confidence. However, *fresh* troubles afflict your country, and even during the past night several assassinations, the criminal authors of which are shrouded in darkness, have spread consternation among the inhabitants, deceived the *vigilance* of your national guard, and wrung the hearts of your magistrates. *Unknown agitators* deceive the people. They take advantage of their love for their king, to inspire the credulous and passionate with anxiety for the safety of the monarch, and suspicions of his power and justice. Fear nothing. The King is in his capital. Buona-parte is carried off in an avenging vessel to an

isolated rock, 2000 leagues from the shores of Europe, and expiates, in the torments of an impotent rage, the crimes of his life, and the miseries of the world. The members of his family who took part in his sacrilegious enterprise are detained in different fortresses. That infant, a vain phantom, is disowned by the Emperor of Austria, and all the people of the Continent. Royal justice strikes the great criminals. And you, guilty agitators of a people, whose passions you excite, tremble in your turn. Faithful subjects, wise and laborious citizens, have no fear, be calm, because you are powerful ; because calmness is the sign of peace, the prerogative of justice. The king, order, peace ; such is the signal of public safety," &c. \*

\* M. d'Arbaud Jouques joined M. Froment in 1790 at Barcelona, when the emigrants, supported by Spain, and directed by the Bourbon princes, were about to commence a civil war on the frontiers. Subsequently, he attached himself to Napoleon with so much ardour, that he was appointed by the Emperor to an important prefecture ; and, when Lord Wellington was advancing through the Pyrennees, M. Jouques published his opinion of his master in the following proclamation, dated Tarbes, 1814.

"Inhabitants of the *Hautes Pyrennées*, it is not only slavery that perfidious England, the eternal enemy to the French name, and to the commerce and manufacture of Europe, designs for us ; she seeks to throw among us the brand of discord, and to produce the horrors of civil war. She knows the daily triumphs of the Emperor, the disasters and ruin of the allies in the north of the empire, — that the progress of her armies will be arrested, — that numerous detachments will reinforce the brave army of an illustrious warrior (Soult).

His former address concluded with these words: "The King, — the *Charter*, — France." Now the charter is proscribed and the protestants are butchered; and he deploras the fate of a people misled by an excessive love for their king. Certainly it was not thus, that disorders were to be allayed, and crimes arrested. The Official Journal gave no details, nor even notices, of the dreadful events that transpired. Proclamations, ordonnances, flattery, may be found in abundance; but not the slightest allusion to the widows and orphans, to the murdered and the plundered. What could be more demonstrative of the spirit of the magistrates?

At this moment Nismes was full of soldiers, and, as if to defy public opinion, and insult the relatives of the immolated protestants, the fol-

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No sacrifice should be thought too great to support that army. Suffer not a single deserter within your walls, houses, or fields. The soldier who, in this moment, does not, when he raises his eyes, behold his eagle, is a traitor, an Englishman. He who deserts is a conspirator, and merits death. The house which shelters him ought to be razed. I shall repeat this sentiment to the last moment of my life, which I hope to spend in the midst of you, nobly and gloriously combating the perfidious enemies of the *greatest of monarchs* and the most glorious of countries. Courage. Union. Honour. Fidelity. Your Prefect,

"D'ARBAUD JOUQUES."

To trace the career and compare the manifestoes of the prefect, is to appreciate both his loyalty and his calumnies.



lowing pompous account was given in the journal of a review which took place on the very day that their mutilated remains were exposed on the *Cours Neuf*.

“ On Sunday last, August 20th, the national guard of Nismes passed in review before M. d’Arbaud Jouques, prefect of the Gard, on the *Cours Neuf*, now called the *Cours Royale*. Twenty-four companies of infantry, forming three battalions, and a troop of cavalry, chiefly composed of veterans, nearly all complete, presented the finest spectacle, and observed remarkable precision in their manœuvres.”

The scenes of the 19th were only the prelude to days and nights, at least as fruitful, in cruelty and licentiousness. Some idea may be formed of the melancholy state of affairs, from the report of a commissary of police, which avows “ that the *Corps du Garde* saw sixty men, armed with sabres and fusils, and conducting three carts loaded with corn, pass at the avenue of the road to St. Gilles, and enter the faubourgs ; that instead of avoiding the guard, they approached directly to it, and threatened it, if it should dare to oppose their progress.” Bands of 150 and 300 men marched to the places previously designed for plunder and massacre. They were all armed, and feeble parties of troops or national guards, collected at the instant, were the only force of the four thousand who had been reviewed, that were opposed to them ; and these by the exertions of individuals, and not by the attention

and precautions of the authorities. Four houses on the Placette, and that of M. Cremieu, a Jew, on the Montpellier road, were pillaged. At ten o'clock, the house of M. Moussier was attacked for the purpose of taking away his life; fortunately he escaped, but his premises were completely sacked, and the effects carried off in carts. The report had circulated in the course of the day (Sunday) that there was to be a massacre in the faubourg at night, and Bigot, Bonijoli, and many others, had taken flight: the wife of the latter had left her home, and, with her children, was gone to stay with her mother. A detachment, dressed in the uniform of the national guard, and furnished with sabres, muskets, bayonets, and cartridge-boxes, entered the dwelling of Louis Bigot: they found the wife of Bigot, who had been confined by paralysis several years; her sister, the widow Bosc; her daughter Suzanne, married to Jean Bonijoli, and her children. The assassins demanded of Suzanne her father, her husband, and her brothers, swearing that they were come to kill them, and would cut them in pieces if they found them. Their pursuit proving unsuccessful, they compelled Suzanne to accompany them to her own house; but there also, they sought in vain their prey, and the poor woman began to congratulate herself on the happy security of her family. Alas! on returning to her father's house, she beheld it surrounded by banditti; and the men who had accompanied her,

having joined them, they entered with her the apartment where she had left her paralytic mother. They attacked at once the mother and the aunt ; the former they killed in an instant, by plunging a sabre into her breast ; and the latter they dragged into the yard and threatened to shoot ; but as this was too merciful, they murdered her in the most barbarous manner. The fate of Suzanne appeared inevitable ; but surrounding herself with her children, and mingling her cries and tears with theirs, they were at length diverted from their horrid purpose, and though others were sacrificed, her life was spared. Plunder was never forgotten, and carts, loaded with corn and other effects, were carried away from the threshing-floors, and the houses of Aurez, Bonijoli, Boissière, Rouveirol, Coumert, Foyet, and Loche. In the course of the night some of the depredators were taken by a party of chasseurs in garrison at Nismes, and committed to the care of the national guard, *who set them all at liberty*. On the approach of the chasseurs, the wretches barricaded a house of which they had possession, and prepared to fire on the regular troops, by whose exertions alone it was that the whole family of Boissière were saved from massacre.

The administrative authorities had recourse again to words instead of actions. Another proclamation appeared the next day, the 21st of August.

“ Inhabitants of Nismes ! The excesses

which our vigilance had arrested, have been renewed during two days. *Strangers*, who appear to have been joined by a *few* worthless persons of the city, have committed atrocities in the most remote parts of the faubourgs.

“ The *enemies* of the king exert themselves in every way to trouble public tranquillity; they hope, from the midst of disorders and calamities, to revive their criminal faction. This guilty hope shall be deceived; your national guard remain on foot; they take a solemn engagement to combat the factions, and repress the disturbers of public order; they swear never to repose till they have fulfilled the honourable mission with which they are charged by the laws and the magistrates — war to rebels and criminals, whatever names they assume; devotion to the king; obedience to the laws; such will always be their motto.” \*

Faithful to their principles, the framers of this proclamation endeavoured to extenuate

\* The criminals were not strangers, neither were they few: atrocities had been committed in the city, as well as in the faubourgs. Were these enemies of the king, the protestants? But surely they would not kill, plunder, and expatriate themselves. Were those enemies the party of Buonaparte? Then, if the protestants were Buonapartists, they would not select protestants as victims, but respect them as their friends. The fact is, the king's real and only enemies were his pretended friends.—On the day preceding, twenty-four companies of these national guards had been reviewed; and what had been their conduct during the past month?

the crimes of "the people," and to throw all blame and all guilt on the pretended enemies of the king. "War to rebels and criminals;" in this declaration the populace found a pretext for the continuation of their outrages, and under its authority the protestants still remained exposed to the dagger and the torch. The proclamation was stuck up in the usual places by order of the prefect, and the same day was signalized by the usual scenes. Several houses were plundered in the faubourgs, and that of M. Affourtit was not only robbed but burnt. On receiving the intelligence he set out for St. Cezaire; but, when about 200 hundred paces from his home, he was shot by the incendiaries, and the last object that he beheld, was the conflagration of his property. He was seventy years of age.

Nothing checked or appeased the rage of the persecutors, and in fact, they boldly declared that on the 24th, the anniversary of St. Bartholomew, they intended to make a general massacre.

The members of the reformed church were filled with terror, and instead of taking part in the election of deputies, to whom their interests and existence were to be entrusted, they were occupied in precautions for their immediate safety.

It is impossible to describe the distress and despair that wrung the hearts of friends and families separating from each other, in the certain expectation that they should fall by the

assassins, and never meet again. A most respectable inhabitant, whose conduct was irreproachable, prepared to dismiss his family into the Cevennes, determined to remain alone to protect, if possible, his property, or at least to offer himself as the substitute for those most dear to him. An interesting daughter about eighteen years of age intreated to continue. Her father remonstrated, and solicited her to leave him. She threw herself into his arms and prayed, if he loved her, that she might be permitted to die by his side. For sometime they embraced each other, bathed in tears, and the parent felt disposed to yield; but recollecting all the horrors and obscenities to which his daughter might be exposed, he was ashamed of his momentary weakness, and compelled her to hasten her departure. By degrees he conducted her down the stairs, and to the threshold of the door; but when the last moment arrived, the daughter hung on her father's neck, and with difficulty could be disengaged; — even then she seized the doorposts, and when they threatened to detach her from these by force, she declared, she would throw herself on the *pavé*, and only by violence be carried from her beloved parent. Nature could no longer resist; bursting into tears, her father reconducted her into the house. “As Providence wills, then, my child,” said he, “we will live or die together.” That Providence kindly watched over and mercifully preserved them both.

In these dreadful seasons of alarm many such scenes might have been witnessed.

The emigration was more considerable than ever, and forgetting the measures hitherto taken to prevent flight, and the menaces which they had issued against fugitives, the authorities appeared anxious and pleased to facilitate their departure. This change was not without motive; the effect of persecution was obtained. The day for the assembling of the electoral colleges had arrived, and it was important to dispose of all the protestant electors before the nomination.

To give some idea of the manœuvres that were practised, there is here transcribed literally an extract from a report made by a catholic elector, a chevalier of the order of St. Louis.

“ On the 21st there was a meeting at the house of Bolze, respecting the elections. We were about sixty. M. Jules de Calvière ordered silence, and in a prepared speech proposed (for the interest of the king) that we should engage by oath to carry the candidates who should be agreed upon, and cause this engagement to be adopted by all the electors who should arrive in the evening. M. d’Aramon, president of the Electoral College, who was present, felt the incompatibility of this oath, with that which he was obliged to swear; and by which he engaged neither to favour nor suffer any coalition. He accordingly withdrew, on a clear intimation, that he was aware of the views

of the assembly. His departure produced some embarrassment, and the Abbé d'Egrigny, who had supported the first proposition, fearing that he had gone too far, evinced considerable chagrin. M. Jules de Calvière, however, thought of an expedient to screen the electors from the accusation of forcing suffrages, and reminded us that excess of zeal for the royal interests could not be blamed : about two-thirds took the oath.

“ An elector put an unfortunate question :—  
‘ But if by chance a *protestant* should obtain the greatest number of votes at the first ballot, must we carry him at the other periods ?’  
This ingenuousness agitated the intriguers ; and M. Jules de Calvière was obliged to reply :—  
‘ Gentlemen, if contrary to our expectations, the *enemies* of the king should obtain a relative majority at the scrutiny, it is understood, that in this case we must elect the person immediately following in the order of suffrages.’ ”

The influence of such a conspiracy may be easily imagined, even by those who do not understand the complicated and subservient mode of French elections. Sixty members, in one *arrondissement*, acting in such a spirit, could not but carry a majority in a body of 149, principally actuated by the same views. The small number of protestants who attended, were kept under by the fear of an assembly interested in holding them up as enemies of the king ; the



populace were also ready, and only waited for a pretext to sacrifice them to their fury.

The deputies elected were M. M. Jules de Calvière, provisory prefect; Count René de Bernis, extraordinary commissioner of the duke d'Angoulême; Count de Vogue, commander of the royal army at Uzès; and M. Trinquelague, advocate-general to the *cour royale*.\* Every thing succeeded to the wishes of the persecutors; no protestants were called to the chamber of deputies; they even submitted to the election of their greatest enemies. "The choice of such deputies," says the Official Journal, "ensures the dignity of our representation; it only remains to wish, that all the other departments may be as happy." An address to the king from the Electoral College was proposed by the inveterate M. Trinquelague. A protestant, M. Saumane, ventured to observe, that it contained no allusion to the constitutional principles and the religious rights, which alone could afford the reformed some security: his observation was treated with ridicule, and he found it prudent to retire. The address was approved and adopted.

The result of this election establishes the true *nature* of the persecution, and explains the mo-

\* The history of M. Trinquelague has been given in page 110. The name signifies, in the idiom of the country, Trinque l'eau (drink water), and there is a traditional saying among the protestants, "*Dieu nous garde du feu, de l'eau, et surtout de Trinque l'eau.*" God preserve us from fire and water, and especially from Drink Water.

tives of so many murders.\* The numbers and the property of the protestants give them a just weight in the body of electors, and, under existing circumstances, it was especially equitable that they should have at least one representative in the senate, to vindicate their character, describe their sufferings, and protect their rights. The object of their persecutors was to destroy their constitutional influence in the department; to attain this object, it was necessary to misrepresent their conduct and conceal their situation: and to maintain this system of calumny and secrecy, it was essential to exclude them from the chamber. To effect such exclusion by opinion or the laws was impossible, it must therefore be accomplished by force and terror. Accordingly "the people" used the sword for the deputies, and the deputies in their turn held the shield over "the people."

In the mean time, it is scarcely credible with what calmness and satisfaction the magistrates regarded the melancholy situation of the department. In every thing they were powerful, except in protecting the persecuted, and punishing their persecutors: their police was vigilant and precise; their military force was regular in its discipline and duties; and, except when protestants were to be butchered, they were jealous, even to delicacy, of the slightest noise, or the

\* It has been since declared at tribuene of the chamber of deputies, and attested by catholic magistrates, "that on the eve of the election *sixteen* protestants were murdered and carried to the *voirie* in open day."

least alarm. An *arrêté* was published on the 22d, the day of the election of deputies, relative to the order to be observed on the 25th of August, the fête of St. Louis: the following articles require no comment:—

“ Art. 2. On Friday the 25th inst. being the fête of St. Louis, all the streets shall be swept and watered before eight o'clock, and the dirt removed before nine o'clock in the morning.

“ Art. 4. It is expressly forbidden to let off fire-arms, crackers or serpents, in any part of the city or suburbs. Happiness does not express itself in such a manner, and the *least accident*, or the *least alarm* caused to a *single individual*, would involve the magistrate in a painful responsibility. Whoever shall violate these orders *shall be immediately arrested*, brought before the competent tribunals, and *punished* according to the rigour of the laws.

“ Art. 5. *Numerous patroles* shall preserve order by day, and by night. The commander of the forces of the department will be requested to give the necessary orders.”

Before the period fixed for the execution of this *important arrêté*, the city and the department were destined to experience fresh and aggravated calamities.

A treaty between the French court and the allied sovereigns prohibited the advance of the foreign troops beyond the line of territory already occupied; and that line was traced by

the course of the Loire, and by the Rhone, below the Ardèche. In violation of this treaty, and without any reasonable motive, 4000 Austrians, under Count Stahremberg, entered Nismes on the 24th of August, the anniversary of St. Bartholomew. At the same time, French troops, bearing the *feudal* title of Royal Chasseurs of the Marquis Vézénobre, followed by the royal bands of Trestaillons, and Quatremaillons, under pretence of marching to Alais, to make room for the Austrians, carried disorder and alarm into the communes on that route.

The fair of Alais is usually held on the 24th, and the protestants had been threatened with a general massacre, should they presume to attend. The unexpected approach of the armed force which had committed or suffered so many crimes at Nismes and Uzès, seemed to verify these threats. Men, women, and children, expecting to be murdered, abandoned their homes, and removed their effects. The peasants, headed by several mayors, assembled on the heights to protect their wives and families, and determined to sell, at a dear price, their lives and property. At this moment, M. Perrier, the late mayor, a protestant, highly esteemed of his brethren, was assassinated in the streets of Ners. The spot was distant from the place where the peasants were stationed, and the fire-arm from which he received his death, was placed so near his breast, that his clothes were burnt, and a wound inflicted three inches in diameter ; but to complete the

crime, and secure the end of the treachery, the murder was officially charged on the friends and companions of the deceased. M. Cambon, deputy mayor, a virtuous and respectable citizen, and two other innocent protestants, were seized and taken to Nismes. When they arrived, the prefect was celebrating the fête of St. Louis, (which, by an unfortunate arrangement of the catholic calendar, follows the day of St. Bartholomew,) at a splendid dinner given to the Austrians ; and dispensing with all investigation, and it appears, even without quitting the table, M. d'Arbaud Jouques placed at the disposal of Count Stahremberg the fate and the lives of the unfortunate prisoners. The Austrian, influenced of course by the representations and the authority of the local governments, ordered them to be instantly shot. The order was executed. Not even the form of a military trial was observed, but in a time of peace, and under a treaty of alliance, three French citizens were sacrificed to an inhuman and unmerited vengeance.

Nothing was now heard but denunciations of fusillading, burning, razing, and annihilating ; and while the catholics were feasting and murdering at Nismes, the flames which consumed the country-houses of protestants, and which were seen rising more than 100 feet in the air, gave a general splendour to the pious festival. To signalize more perfectly this glorious day, the prefect prepared and issued the following terrible decree.

“ Nismes, August 25, 1815.

“ For as much as reports daily reach us from the different agents of government \*, that assemblages, illegally armed, in the eastern, northern, and western parts of the departments, endanger the public tranquillity, and the safety of persons and property ; that the chief places † of these agitations are the communes of Calvisson, Aiguevives, Vauvers, and Le Cailar, in the arrondissement of Nismes ; Anduze, and all the communes of that canton ; St. Jean du Gard, and all the communes of that canton, and Vézénobre, in the arrondissement of Alais ; Arpaillargues, in the arrondissement of Uzès ; St. Hyppolyte, Laune, Valleraugue, Quissac, La Salle, and all the communes of its canton, in the arrondissement of Le Vigan : that the magistrates are every where insulted in the exercise of their functions, and their orders disregarded ; the proscribed colours of revolt exhibited, and seditious cries uttered, recalling the most odious usurpation ‡ : considering that

\* These reports were made, if made at all, by the sworn enemies of the protestants.

† All these communes were selected for proscription, only because the immense majority of the population is protestant. The greater part of them are twelve or fifteen leagues from each other, and in opposite directions from Nismes.

‡ It is impossible to name a single magistrate who had been insulted. No sign of revolt, no colour had been exhibited, and if any person in a state of intoxication had uttered seditious cries, the local authority was sufficiently strong to punish him for his folly.

the royal troops were yesterday attacked in open day, at Ners \*, an officer wounded, and a magistrate killed by the rebels †: after having deliberated with the commanders of the royal troops, and Count Stahremberg, general of the allied Austrian troops, stationed in this department ‡, the prefect has decreed : —

“ Art. 1. The French and Austrian troops shall be quartered in the different parts and communes above cited.

“ Art. 2. Every mayor shall order strangers residing under his jurisdiction, and not furnished with a competent passport, to quit immediately the commune, and to repair to his native place, or ordinary residence. §

“ Art. 3. Every individual disobeying this order, shall be arrested, and brought before the

\* All the peasants at Ners had the white cockade, they were about 1200, and had they attacked the detachment of royal troops, they must have destroyed them.

† M. Perrier was not a magistrate; he had been dismissed from this office since the 27th of July. Neither was he killed by the protestants, but assassinated by —.

‡ What knowledge could such a council possess? The prefect had arrived within five days; the foreign general the night before. The commanders of the royal troops were either interested in perpetuating the system of exaction and oppression, or inspired by fanatical zeal: such was the council that proscribed 60,000 individuals.

§ Thus an unfortunate protestant who had escaped death by taking refuge in the hospitality and affection of his friends, was pursued, driven from his retreat, and forced to return to the assassins, who waited to add him to the number of their victims.

commissary general of police at Nismes ; and if a military man, before the military authorities.

“ Art. 4. The national guard shall be re-organised according to the order of the king of July 16, 1814, and the circular of the prefect of the 10th of November 1814. \*

“ Art. 5. All the arms in the possession of the inhabitants of the said communes shall be delivered to the military, and deposited in the hotel of the sub-prefecture, until the legal re-organisation of the national guard.

“ Art. 6. Every inhabitant, in whose house shall be found fire-arms, without any express permission, or shall be found from home with such arms, shall be immediately arrested as evil intentioned. †

“ Art. 7. Every armed assemblage, not belonging to a corps of the line, or to the national guard legally organised, collected without a written order from its legitimate chiefs, shall be commanded to disperse, and in case of refusal, shall be dissolved by military force. ‡

“ Art. 8. Every individual who carries the

\* The existing organisation was strictly legal. The re-organisation excluded almost all the protestants, the richest landholders.

† The protestants could not have fire-arms without an order ; orders were only to be given to the national guards, and nineteen out of twenty of them were catholics.

‡ This article could not affect the disarmed protestants : the catholics were at liberty to assemble to attack the temples, wound the generals of the king, or commit what crimes they pleased.



signs of rebellion, or utters seditious cries, shall be arrested as a rebel, and every commune that displays such a sign, shall be subjected to military law, and the movers are given up to the authorities.

“ Art. 9. This decree shall be executed by the civil and military authorities; and the general commanding the department is requested to invite the general of the troops of his majesty the Emperor of Austria, to unite with the French troops, for the re-establishment of tranquillity.”\*

From this decree, it were not possible to imagine, that for many weeks, colours distinct from those of Louis XVIII. had been worn by thousands of armed catholics; that the first magistrates, and even the prefect himself, had been publicly insulted in the name of the king, and that the protestants had been slaughtered and despoiled, without resistance, and without protection. By its effect on the people, it appeared intended to justify past, and to prepare for future aggressions. On the 27th, in open day, and in sight of the national guard, many houses in Nismes, and especially in the Cours Neuf,

\* This revolutionary decree, besides its direct injustice and oppression, served as a pretext for indefinite persecution. Many thousands of domiciliary visits were made, under pretence of searching for arms; the most private parts of the houses were profaned; the sick were compelled to leave their beds; troops were lodged at discretion; and the protestants dare not complain.

were attacked. The residences of Paul Perier, and Jean Maroger, silk weavers, were broken open, and looms, furniture, silk, and even provisions, taken or destroyed. Perier's loss alone amounted to 14,000 francs. Those of M. M. Serviere, Fajon, Mourgue, Aurivel, Rampen, were treated with similar violence. Peaceable inhabitants were dragged to prison, only because they were protestants, and then detained, as a measure of safety.

The reported approach of 30,000 Spaniards occasioned a temporary diversion of the armed catholic bands, and detachments were ordered to march on Narbonne, in the South. Unable therefore to carry dismay and death into the *arrondissemens* of Uzès and Alais, they marked their course in an opposite direction, by disorder and licentiousness. At Milhaud, Uchaux, Sommieres, and even Montpellier, they extorted contributions, pillaged houses, and pursued fugitive protestants, who had escaped from Nismes.

Their conduct at Montpellier is thus described in the order of the day. "Troops, strangers in this department, have troubled our tranquillity, and have seemed even to wish to make us share the calamities by which the neighbouring department is afflicted." From this city, they refused to advance, and measuring back their steps in the same state of insubordination, they arrived at Nismes loaded with booty, and were neither degraded nor reproved.

With the worst intentions on the part of their employers, the Austrians were confined to the protestant communes, where they completely disarmed the population, without the slightest opposition. Indeed the foreigners were soon undeceived. They entered their quarters, expecting to meet the most perfidious and brutal enemies in armed rebellion against the king and the local government; they experienced kind and respectful treatment; and though they were charged with a most vexatious and oppressive duty, they performed it in general with loyalty and moderation.

In various cantons, they found the inhabitants even ignorant of the alleged causes of their arrival, and occupied in celebrating the fête of the king. After the reports made to them by the authorities at Nismes, they could not refrain from expressing their astonishment, but declared "that they had found a population suffering great misfortunes, but no rebels; and that compassion was the only feeling with which they were inspired." The commander was so convinced of the good disposition of the people of the Cevennes, that he visited those districts without an escort, desiring, he said, to travel in that part of the country, as he would travel in his own. Such confidence was a public reproach on the departmental authority; and a sentence of condemnation on all its proceedings.

Mild and moderate as was the conduct of the troops, their maintenance, their rigorous dis-

cipline, and the object of their residence, rendered their presence a real punishment ; while the catholic villages, which deluged the department with robbers and assassins, had no disarming to undergo, no armed force to maintain, no military contributions to provide.

Agents, with the title of Royal Commissioners, whose political and religious fanaticism merited the patronage of the authorities, were sent into all the cantons garrisoned by the Austrians. The conduct of these delegates answered to their character ; in general they were so many petty tyrants, the slaves of their own passions, and the tools of others. One of them however, declared, “ that obliged to speak and to act, he had both acted and spoken contrary to his conscience, and that he should always reproach himself with having been instrumental in a persecution really religious.”

The protestants of Uzès were constantly exposed to the mercy of a populace thirsting for blood, and eager for pillage. Emigration impoverished the city, and ruined individuals ; but the persecutors were satisfied ; they beheld fugitive citizens, and unprotected spoils.

Alais trembled every instant, with the most fearful anticipations. In many communes the pastors, whose fidelity had never wavered, and whose conduct was irreproachable, fled before the poignard : public worship was generally suspended, and the profaners of the temples were proclaimed the defenders of *the altar* and

the throne. The evil spread through Lower Languedoc. The temples of Pignan in the department of l'Herault, and St. Affrique in l'Avignon, were consumed, and the worshippers were without the comfort of religious ordinances, or the prospect of their renewal.

The sufferers were deprived of all the ordinary means of consolation ; communication was stopped ; the secrecy of letters was violated, and only those were circulated which referred to private affairs, and had no relation to the situation of Nismes, and the department of the Gard. It was only by indirect and mysterious correspondence, that the events were known to the protestants of the capital. Letters from the Gard bore the post mark of places very distant, and arrived without signatures and enveloped in allegorical allusions.

In this horrible state of things, a respectable individual at Paris determined to prepare and publish a memorial on the miseries of his brethren. To avoid the censor, and to be able to state the truth, it was necessary to print the work in secrecy ; it was then sent to all the ministers of the king, and afterwards distributed in the capital. The author, supposing the persecuted in the presence of the king, thus addresses him in the conclusion of his memoir. “ Yes, Sire, such is the excess of calamity to which we are exposed ; but think not that we are totally incapable of repelling the outrages of our adversaries, were we not restrained by respect for your ma-

jesty. But it is our misfortune that these wretches are denominated royalists. And what name would be applied to us were we to take arms against them? Would they not be considered the dear, but misguided children and supporters of the holiest of causes, and should not we be branded as rebels? Those men, Sire, who are described as your enemies, perish without a struggle, that they may not appear to disobey your authority. Protestant princes surround them and they have not preferred a complaint, nor solicited their mediation. Are such men rebels? But, Sire, patience may be exhausted, and it may be difficult to restrain by reason the vengeance of a people too cruelly persecuted. Anticipate, Sire, this dire alternative, re-organize the national guard, dissolve the bands assembled in defiance of your authority; and remove from their administrative functions those who have caused or suffered our blood to flow.

“But if reserved for continued persecution, at least let our fate be distinctly announced. Ministers of Louis XVIII., would you be more inexorable than those of Louis XIV., against whom Europe uttered the cry of execration? If so, satisfy the hatred of our enemies, but give us time to assemble our dispersed families, to dispose of the property we have acquired in enriching the country still so dear to our hearts. We will seek again a refuge on foreign shores; we will once more implore the compassion of those hospitable nations, in which our forefathers found an

asylum, where their names are still held in honour and their memories are revered. We are a hardy and laborious race, and we shall not return to burden you with our indigence ; this new emigration will cost you neither treasure nor blood, and our ungrateful country, against which we shall never raise our arms, will still have our vows for her peace and her prosperity.”

Another protestant of distinction prepared a private memorial to his majesty. “ Confidence in the wisdom and justice of the king,” he says “ still subsists in the hearts of those protestants who have suffered the most. They appeal from their misfortunes to his equity and sensibility ; for themselves alone they ask neither favour nor pardon. If, however, to have applauded the limits within which the king has himself circumscribed his authority, be a crime ; if it be a crime to desire the maintenance of the charter, and the representative government which it institutes and preserves, the protestants acknowledge themselves to be guilty, and admit that they are justly persecuted by their enemies, who display an invincible horror for every tolerant institution.

“ But if the protestants are authorised to profess the principles which the king has proclaimed, why should they be tormented, decimated, treated as wild beasts ? Why should they not return to their homes, and at least resume their labours, amid the ruins of their dilapidated shops ? Why should they not be permitted the

exercise of their religious worship, more necessary to their comfort than ever, but suspended by the dispersion of both the pastors and the flocks?"

While the protestants were thus suffering in despair, or endeavouring to place at the foot of the throne their just and bitter complaints; the catholics, the constituted authorities, and their friends "the people," were not only free from all anxiety, but surrounded with splendid prosperity, and distinguished by their festivities and mirth. "On the 5th of September, a magnificent fête was given by the national guards and the troops of the line, to the generals and officers of the Austrian forces. A bull fight and athletic games were exhibited in the vast amphitheatre, the monument of the population and the glory of the ancient city. Tables were spread for three hundred persons, and among the toasts, was one proposed by the colonel of the national guard, which declared that the national guard of Nismes swore to sacrifice itself for the maintenance of order in the department." The value of this festive oath, may be ascertained by the contrast of facts.

Proclamations were not more scarce than oaths, nor more productive of security and repose.

In the beginning of September the proclamation of the king, dated the 1st of the same month, appeared at Nismes; but if his majesty had been correctly and fully informed of all that had taken place, surely he would not have contented him-



self with announcing his severe displeasure, to a *misled people, who took justice into their own hands, and avenged the crimes committed against royalty* ; he would rather have declared his determination to protect the persecuted protestants, and to maintain the freedom of religious profession. Alas ! the proclamation was dictated as though there had not been a protestant in the department ; it assumed and affirmed throughout, the guilt of the sufferers ; and while it deplored the atrocious outrages endured by the followers of the Duke d'Angoulême, (outrages which never existed,) the plunder and massacre of the reformed was not even noticed. The severity of such a document was therefore neutralized by its injustice.\*

\* *Proclamation of the King.*

LOUIS, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, to all whom it may concern, *health* :

We have learned with profound sorrow, that in the southern departments, some of our subjects have rendered themselves guilty of the most criminal excesses ; that under colour of making themselves ministers of public vengeance, Frenchmen yielding to sentiments of private vengeance, have shed French blood even since our authority has been universally established and acknowledged. Certainly great crimes and infamous treasons have taken place, and have plunged France into an abyss of misery. *Atrocious persecutions have been exercised against those of our faithful subjects, who following the banner of our beloved nephew, with him courageously attempted to save France.* But the punishment of these crimes must be national, solemn, and regular ; the *guilty* must fall by the sword of the law, and not by the hand of private vengeance. Justice would be offended, and the social compact

Another address was issued by the prefect on the 7th of September, of which it will be suffi-

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destroyed, if any became at once the judges and executioners for *offences* received, and even for *crimes* committed against our person.

Our intentions and orders have sufficiently declared, that vengeance should be taken on the authors of the evils, and that the indulgence granted to weakness and error, should not extend to the guilty, whose public and well known criminality may be proceeded against, without alarming the multitude who have submitted, no doubt involuntarily, to the weight of circumstances. We hope, that this odious attempt to arrest the exercise of our authority and of the laws, has already ceased ; it would be a crime committed against us, and against France ; and, however painful, nothing will be spared to punish such crimes. In this case, our worthy nephew, whose name is identified from henceforth, with the sentiments of love and devotedness, manifested by our provinces of the south, (which have preserved and do preserve them from the evils of invasion,) would be our agent to save those provinces from civil discord, and to repress and punish those who should make a criminal use of his name or of ours. *But certainly the noble bond established between him and the inhabitants of the south, will not be dissolved by the errors of a few men, thirsting for vengeance and disorder.* It is with this hope, that we have recommended, by precise orders to our ministers and magistrates, to cause the laws to be strictly respected, and to betray *neither indulgence nor weakness* in the pursuit of those who have violated them, or who should violate them in future ; well assured that our voice shall not be heard in vain, in a country, where we have received so many proofs of fidelity and affection.

Given at Paris, 1st September, 1815, the 21st year of our reign.

(Signed)	LOUIS.
	Les Gardes des Sceaux,
(Signed)	PASQUIER.

cient to cite the introductory phrases. “ An indignation, *too natural, too universal, too thoughtless not to be excusable*, burst forth against those whom public opinion designated as the most violent enemies of the best of kings and the happiness of his people. Some places of public resort where they held their fatal consultations, a *few* private houses were attacked by *you* and destroyed, but though this vengeance was illegal, it was not disgraced by pillage; popular indignation was not degraded by a spirit of plunder. Well, inhabitants, what have been the consequences of this simple error? Since then, bands, unknown to authority, have dared to commit thefts and extortions, which certainly shall not go unpunished, &c.”

Is it thus that a magistrate characterizes the crimes which have destroyed scores of houses, ruined hundreds of families, shed the blood of age and infancy, murdered helpless females and their unborn offspring? Is it thus that he describes the diabolical fury which has driven thousands into exile, forced many pious pastors to abandon their flocks in order to save their lives, made desolate the sanctuary, and even recompensed the bounty of a kind Providence by conflagration and ruin? *Trifling error! Indignation too natural not to be excusable!* — It is unnecessary to oppose to this apology the detail of facts, or to this declamation the first proclamation of the same writer, which pronounced the troubles to be *rather religious than political*. What professions can such a

man make which will be believed? What promises that will encourage? What threatenings that will deter?

Count Vogue, inspector-general of the department, published also his proclamation, to declare that "the true authors of these criminal actions, would certainly be found to belong to that revolutionary horde, which called itself persecuted, because it could no longer persecute:" that is, in other words, "the protestants were a revolutionary horde, and murdered their own relatives."

The prefect again, in his order of the 14th, for the re-organization of the national guard, pursued the same system of misrepresentation and extenuation; and it is not surprising that, amidst the abundance of these documents, the disorders were unabated. On the 2d of September the house of M. St. Jean, and two others, which had hitherto been spared, were completely ravaged; and, on the 4th, that of M. Lacombe, in the Enclos du Rey, was equally devastated. Two protestant young women were whipped on the 7th, and one of them died of the shameful treatment she received. The very day of the last-mentioned proclamation, the catholics took all that suited them in the residence of Mademoiselle Joudan; broke the large furniture in pieces, and publicly burnt it in the place St. Charles.

An honest mason, who, like many other artisans, had fled for his life, left his furniture and effects in his apartments, in the *placé Bachelas*.

The landlord, as the day of St. Michel approached, wished to let the apartments to fresh tenants, and sent to Finiel, the father-in-law of the absentee, to remove the goods. Finiel hired a cart and porters, and, to avoid any interruption, solicited some guards from a neighbouring post. Thinking every thing secure, they began the removal, and the cart was filled without opposition ; but when it was ready to move, the crowd, which had gradually collected, overthrew and broke every thing, made a bonfire of the wrecks, and danced round it till the ashes were extinguished. The guards who were required to protect the property, saw it consumed without offering the slightest impediment, and then compelled the unfortunate Finiel, by the most brutal threats, to pay them for their time and trouble. His wife and daughter, who could not suppress their tears at the sight of the conflagration, were in danger of receiving the *battoir*, and were assaulted in their flight by showers of stones. They were so much terrified that they abandoned Nismes, and retired to Clarengac.

In the night of the 17th and 18th, a band, in the uniform of the national guard, broke into the house of M. Boissier, a protestant, eminent for his exemplary piety, pretending that he had given an asylum to the enemies of the king. He was so fortunate as to escape death ; but they wreaked their vengeance by destroying every thing they could not carry away. Several

other protestants, the same night, had their domiciles violated.

The next days (the 18th and 19th) three houses in the Enclos du Rey were sacked, and M. Barijoles, who had sold in the course of the day a large quantity of silk, and received the amount, was robbed of both the silk and the money, and all the valuables in the house : it was with the utmost difficulty that he saved his life.

Trestailions entered the residence of Sieur Bousset, who had with him a man named Laquillat. The chief of the assassins drew a pistol ; Laquillat turned aside the muzzle, and avoided the discharge, and then sprang on the assailant, to prevent him from firing again ; but the brigand had his accomplices and protectors at hand, and they dragged the innocent individual to prison as a criminal, for protecting his own life against the designs of a murderer. He was still in the dungeon in the end of November. On the 23d, a lady and her two daughters, cheapening some peaches in the market, received a very impertinent answer from a fruit-woman, and accordingly withdrew. A cry was immediately raised, " She is a Buonapartist ; she says Buonaparte will return." The fruit-women became furious, and the police took the lady and her daughters to prison, amidst acclamations of "*Vive le roi.*" — The persecutors proceeded to tear the infants from their mothers, that they might be baptized in the catholic church. They

endeavoured to terrify the women, by declaring, that if their children lived unbaptized catholics, they would be cursed, and if they died, they would be buried like heretic dogs. I know a female whose infant was removed from her by the fanatics, that it might be taken to the priest, when she was too weak to resist their violence.

As the disorders kept pace with the proclamations, so the force of the catholic faction continued also to increase. Besides its numerous and select national guard, Nismes contained a regiment of cavalry, newly raised, and four battalions of infantry, two of the regiments of the Gard, and two of the regiments of the Herault. The catholic populace, notwithstanding the decrees of the magistrates, were allowed to retain the arms they had illegally seized; and the protestants were disarmed throughout the departments. The members of the reformed communion wished at this period to present another memorial to the government, descriptive of all the evils with which they were afflicted, and the termination of which had been vainly promised. Even this was not practicable: the president of the consistory wrote, on the 26th of September, as follows: "I have only been able to assemble two or three members of the consistory pastors or elders. It is impossible to draw up a memoir, as it is impossible to collect the facts; so great is the terror, that every one is afraid to

speak of his own sufferings, or to mention those he has been compelled to witness.”

Such, in the end of September, was the deplorable condition of Nismes, where the royal government had been peaceably established more than *ten* weeks. It may now be proper to leave the city, and to take a general survey of the events which occurred in the different arrondissemens of the department.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.









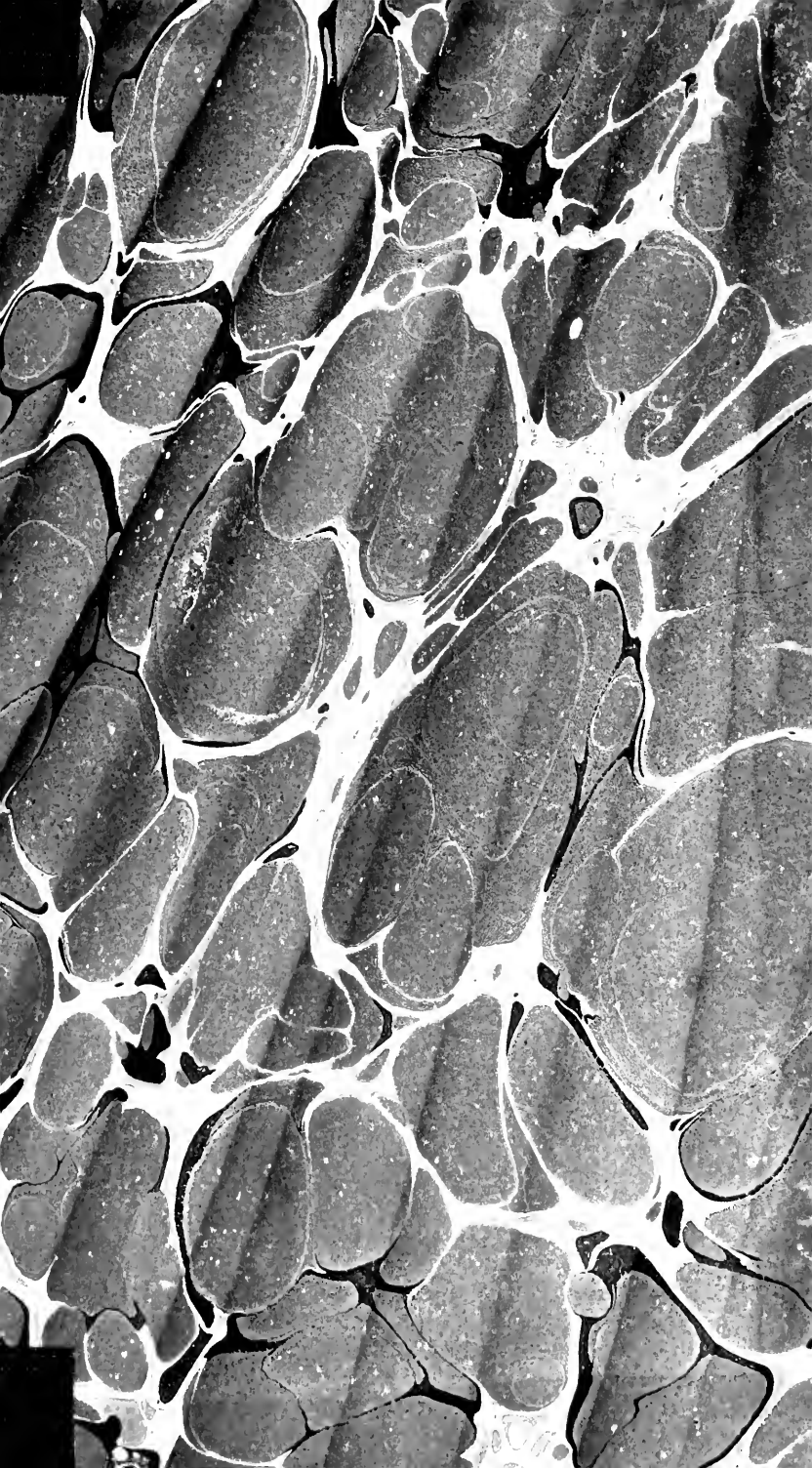
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